SECOND EDITION.

THE

ADDRESSES AND SPEECHES

OF THE

RIGHT HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX,

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALAN GARDNER, BART.

AND

JOHN HORNE TOOKE, ESQ.

AT THE LATE

WESTMINSTER ELECTION,

&c. &c. &c.

THE

WESTMINSTER ELECTION,

IN THE YEAR 1796.

BEING

An accurate State of the Poll each Day:

ALSO

A COMPLETE COLLECTION

OF THE

ADDRESSES AND SPEECHES

(From the Huſtings in Covent Garden)

OF

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX,

VICE ADMIRAL SIR ALAN GARDNER, BART.

AND

JOHN HORNE TOOKE, ESQ.

THE WHOLE CAREFULLY CORRECTED.

London:

PRINTED FOR J. S. JORDAN, NO. 166, FLEET STREET.

M DCC XCVI.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION,

DURING THE MONTHS OF MAY AND JUNE, 1796.

THE late Parliament was diſſolved on the 20th day of May, 1796.—The Election for Weſtminſter began on Friday the 27th of May, at the uſual place in Covent Garden. The Candidates were, the Right Hon. CHARLES JAMES FOX—Vice-Admiral Sir ALAN GARDNER—and JOHN HORNE TOOKE, Eſq.—Their ſeveral Addreſſes to the Electors were as follows:

TO THE WORTHY AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

Gentlemen,

CONSCIOUS of having faithfully diſcharged the important truſt which, during the period of ſixteen years, and three ſucceſſive Parliaments, you have ſo honourably repoſed in me, and animated by the grateful remembrance of the candour, or rather the partiality, with which you have hitherto received my feeble efforts in the public ſervice, I venture once more to offer myſelf, with ſome degree of confidence, as a Candidate for the repreſentation of this great and populous city.

So totally unconnected with any other Candidate, as to be enabled from public rumour only to gueſs, who, beſides myſelf, is likely to ſolicit your ſuffrages, my ſole pretenſions to your favour reſt entirely upon the uniformity with which I have adhered to the principles of that conduct which firſt recommended me to your notice. The part which I have taken in the various important queſtions agitated in the late Parliament, is too well known and underſtood by you to need explanation, much leſs apology.

That I have oppoſed a War, unjuſt in its principle, and ruinous in its conſequences; that I have endeavoured to prevent innovations upon the Conſtitution, which tend to annihilate the Rights of the People; that I have laboured to preſerve entire the ſecurity which we formerly enjoyed under the Law of

Treaſon, as eſtabliſhed by the ſtatute of Edward the Third; that I have reſiſted the repeal of the Bill of Rights in its moſt eſſential clauſes; will be matters of conſolation to me to the laſt moment of my life.

That my efforts in this glorious cauſe have, in common with thoſe of abler men, been ineffectual, I moſt ſincerely lament; but I truſt my character (whatever it may be) will not ſuffer either in your judgment, or in that of poſterity, on account of my name being ſeldom, if ever, found among the majorities of a Parliament remarkable for having added more to the burthens, and taken away more from the rights of the ſubject, than any Parliament ever did in the annals of our hiſtory.

I have the honour to be, with every ſentiment of regard and gratitude,

Gentlemen,

Your moſt obliged,

South-ſtreet, and faithful humble Servant,

May 21ſt, 1796. C. J. FOX.

TO THE WORTHY AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE CITY AND LIBERTY OF WESTMINSTER.

Gentlemen,

Several reſpectable inhabitants of the city of Weſtminſter having expreſſed their deſire that I ſhould offer my ſervices to ſucceed Admiral Lord Hood as one of your repreſentatives in parliament; I find it impoſſible not to acquieſce in a wiſh ſo highly gratifying and honourable to myſelf.

I therefore preſume to ſolicit your favour and ſupport, to which I am conſcious that I have no pretenſions but an ardent zeal in the ſervice of my king and country, a ſteady attachment to our excellent and happy conſtitution, and a determination to counteract, to the utmoſt of my power, the attempts of its enemies, whether foreign or domeſtic.

If you ſhould be pleaſed to confer upon me a diſtinction which cannot but be highly acceptable to the feelings of a Britiſh officer, I ſhall hope to merit a continuance of your good opinion and confidence, by a line of public conduct ſtrictly conformable to the principles which I have avowed, and by an invariable attention to your own immediate intereſts and welfare.

I have the honour to be, with the greateſt reſpect,

Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient

Portland Place, and faithful humble Servant,

May 20th, 1796. ALAN GARDNER.

TO

TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

Gentlemen,

IT is only in times like the preſent, when attempts are flagitiouſly made to murder innocent men, that the progreſs of a candidate can poſſibly be from the Huſtings to Newgate, and from Newgate back to the Huſtings. The circumſtance declares the times: for any man who could reaſonably be even ſuſpected of deſerving what I have ſuffered, would be abandoned by the whole human race.

But you muſt be well aware, that if I had never known, or knowing, had not loved the free conſtitution of my country, I ſhould not have been voted a traitor by the uſurping proprietors of boroughs: who, under an inſidious pretence of attachment—not to kingſhip, which we acknowledge; but to monarchy, which we abhor,—are endeavouring to undermine (it is not the place for me here to ſay how far they have undermined) the lawful government of king, lords and commons; and to ſubſtitute a tyranny of their own, under (the moſt odious of all forms) a temporary, elective dictator, dependent only upon their own corrupt and proſtituted votes.

In the purſuit of their plan, and for the eſtabliſhment of their power, they are endeavouring to ſeat themſelves on the ſame throne, by the ſide of their ſovereign; by perverting thoſe laws of treaſon, which were excluſively deſigned to protect the perſon of the king and his ſhare of the government—by perverting them, to protect equally the ſhare which themſelves have uſurped.

If they can ſucceed in this, their next ſtep is a ſhort one: they will trample on him. And whenever the crown ſhall hereafter be awakened, and, too late perhaps, compelled to ſtruggle with theſe uſurpers; the moſt loyal adherents of royalty will be deſtroyed, as traitors againſt their new majeſties: the king will have no means left to protect his moſt faithful ſubjects; and the crown may find itſelf without a defender.

This, this attempt of theirs, is the great maſter-treaſon againſt the crown, the nobility, and the whole commons of the realm.

In order the more efficaciouſly to reſiſt theſe traitors to us all, theſe un-acquitted felons; or to lay down my life uſefully to the public in oppoſition to their plunder and tyranny, I again offer myſelf to repreſent you in the enſuing parliament.

If the purpoſe of your election were to chuſe a maſter, or to promote a miniſter, or to beſtow any portion of power or emolument on the object of your choice; I ſhould ac-

knowledge myſelf to be the laſt perſon who ought to preſent himſelf to your notice. But if your purpoſe be to appoint a ſervant, whoſe duty it is to purſue your intereſt, not his own; to maintain your rights, not to obtain an office for himſelf; to follow ſingly your will, independently of all parties, and all other connections; I may then with confidence offer myſelf, and ſay, that in me you ſhall, if you pleaſe, find

A faithful Servant,
JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

At a meeting of the committee for promoting the election of John Horne Tooke, Eſq. in the pariſh of St. James's, George Knutton, M. D. in the chair; the following addreſs and reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to:

TO THE INDEPENDENT AND UNINFLUENCED ELECTORS OF THE PARISH OF SAINT JAMES, WESTMINSTER.

Gentlemen,

UPON a queſtion of ſuch importance as the election of a repreſentative for the city and liberties of Weſtminſter, it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe you can be unconcerned or indifferent.

It is your right to chuſe; and the enjoyment of your liberty, and the ſecurity of your property depend upon your choice. You have ſeen the melancholy progreſſion of a war, unprecedented both in principle and event. Do you wiſh for its continuance? You have experienced an increaſe of taxes, a decreaſe of trade, and an unexampled accumulation of political evil reſulting from the late public meaſures: do you wiſh for a repetition of them? You have ſeen a tacit compromiſe of your rights as freemen, and your ſuffrages as electors, apparently aſſented to.—Do you wiſh to dwindle into inſignificance and contempt?—If you can, as honeſt men, ſay yes,—vote for the court candidate and another campaign. If not, vote for the aſſerter of your rights, and by your independance ſtop the progreſs of thoſe accumulative evils—war, taxes and corruption; which, if not ſpeedily checked in their ruinous career, will ſoon leave you little to hope, and leſs to enjoy. We preſent the following reſolutions for your acceptance and approbation, and upon their baſis, we recommend to you JOHN HORNE TOOKE, Eſq. as the faithful ſervant of the *City of Weſtminſter.*

RESOLVED,

Firſt.—It is the opinion of this committee, that the preſent alarming and deplorable ſituation of our country, is occaſioned only by the very defective ſtate of the repreſentation in the commons' houſe of parliament.

Secondly.—

Secondly.—That the only practicable means of reſtoring to Britain peace and plenty, is by a radical reform in the repreſentation of the Commons of this country; to promote which, it is highly requiſite for thoſe electors who have the real intereſt of their boaſted conſtitution at heart, to vote for ſuch candidates as aſſuredly will contribute their exertions towards ſo deſirable an object.

Thirdly.—Knowing that John Horne Tooke, Eſq. ever ſince the commencement of his political career, has been an inflexible and uniform advocate for ſuch a reform; this committee deems him an eligible perſon to repreſent them in parliament, and in purſuance of that information, they will actively exert themſelves in promoting his election.

Fourthly.—From a conviction of the baneful conſequences ariſing from corrupt influence in popular election, we earneſtly recommend our independent fellow pariſhioners, to conſider well the pretenſions of Mr. Horne Tooke to their ſupport, and the honourable principles on which he offers himſelf as a candidate, by not endeavouring to ſmuggle from them their birthright, by the corruption of their free and unbiaſſed ſuffrages.

Fifthly.—Conſidering the great danger in which the ſmall portion of popular choice ſtood at the laſt general election, we eſteem ourſelves obliged to Mr. Horne Tooke, for his patriotic and ſpirited conduct in fruſtrating that criminal attempt, by ſtanding forth the avowed champion, for ſupporting among the electors of *Weſtminſter*, at leaſt the ſhadow of the right to chooſe their own repreſentatives.

Sixthly.—Being determined ſtrictly to accord with the independent principles on which Mr. Tooke offers himſelf, we reſolve to conduct his election in this pariſh, free from every other expence, except the printing and diſtributing of theſe reſolutions.

May 25th, 1796, GEORGE KNUTTON, Chairman,
St. James's Square. J. MOODY, Secretary.

FIRST DAY.—FRIDAY, MAY 27.

At about a quarter before eleven, the candidates and their friends aſcended the huſtings.

After the deputy of the high bailiff had read the precept, and the ſeveral acts of parliament, Mr. Fox was nominated by T. Scott, eſq. and ſeconded by Mr. Harry Houſe.

Mr. Fox expiated at ſome length on the ruinous tendency of the war, and the ſituation to which the country had been reduced by the extravagant and corrupt meaſures of adminiſtration. He then made an appeal to the feelings of the populace

lace on the poverty and diſtreſs which the lower orders of the people experience at this time by the obſtinate perſeverance of the rulers in meaſures which, if further perſiſted in, muſt bring utter ruin on the nation. It therefore behoved them to make choice of ſuch perſons for their repreſentatives as they thought would exert themſelves in remedying the dreadful ſituation into which they have been plunged. To this end, he truſted, it would be found the whole of his parliamentary endeavours had been directed; and under that idea he again came forward to offer himſelf a candidate for the honour of repreſenting the populous and reſpectable city of Weſtminſter in the Commons' Houſe of Parliament. He concluded by declaring, that he was totally unconnected with either of the other candidates, and ſoliciting their ſingle and unbiaſſed votes.

Sir Thomas Turton, Bart. then nominated Sir Alan Gardner, in a very long ſpeech, in which he enumerated the various ſervices performed by the Admiral.

He was ſeconded by Admiral Ommaney.

Sir ALAN GARDNER then addreſſed the populace in a few words. He ſaid, that his pretenſions to the honour of repreſenting the city of Weſtminſter reſted on his loyalty to his Sovereign, his attachment to the conſtitution, and his readineſs on all occaſions to combat both the foreign and domeſtic enemies of his country.

Mr. Horne Tooke was then propoſed by Felix Vaughan, Eſq. and ſeconded by Mr. J. Sharpe.

Mr. TOOKE aſſured the meeting he ſhould not take up their attention for one minute with what he had to ſay. It was unneceſſary for him to advance a ſingle ſentence; for the worthy Baronet, who had juſt addreſſed them, had ſaid ſufficient for him, and for the other candidates beſide.

The Returning Officer then declared the ſhew of hands to be in favour of Mr. Fox and Admiral Sir Alan Gardner, on which Mr. Tooke demanded a poll. The poll commenced at twelve o'clock.

By the act of Parliament it is provided, that the poll ſhould continue open for ſeven hours, and as the nomination was not over till twelve o'clock, the election continued till ſeven in the evening.

The numbers being declared as follows:

For Mr. FOX - - - - - - - - - - - -	232
Mr. TOOKE - - - - - - - - - - - -	132
Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - - - - -	129

The Candidates then came forward to addreſs the electors; and, firſt—

Mr.

Mr. Fox, who was received with the loudeſt acclamations, and other tokens of regard, returned thanks for the honour they had done him, as teſtified by the reſpectable majority in his favour this day, on which he congratulated thoſe who voted for him, and congratulated himſelf. He obſerved on the two bills which were paſſed the laſt Seſſion of the laſt Parliament, and on the principles maintained by miniſters in ſupport of theſe bills. They had ſhewn an inclination to prevent all popular meetings, but they had not yet dared to attempt that of preventing the people of Weſtminſter to meet to vote for their repreſentatives. In ſpeaking for himſelf he would alledge, that he had been often perſonally gratified by the favourable opinion which the electors of Weſtminſter had teſtified of him.

In doing ſo he would venture to ſay this, that they favoured a man who had ſhewn his attachment to the conſtitution of this country, who loved that conſtitution; but when he ſaid he loved it, he muſt ſay alſo it was the conſtitution of 1688 he loved; and in proportion as he loved that conſtitution did he deteſt the innovations that had been made upon it, and particularly the innovations in 1796. The true conſtitution of Great Britain was made for the freedom of the people, not for the deteſtable purpoſe of ſupporting the will of the executive government againſt the people. The fundamental principle of the conſtitution of Great Britain was, that every man in it ſhould have an opportunity of freely delivering his opinion. A conſtitution which allowed not that privilege was the mere name of a thing, and was worth nothing, and that was the ſort of conſtitution which miniſters would force upon the people, and which they would miſname as the conſtitution of Great Britain. Theſe were the ſentiments on which he ſubmitted himſelf to the electors of Weſtminſter in the year 1780. We were then engaged in an unfortunate war. In 1796 we were in the ſame ſituation. The cauſe of the American war was the lamentable ſubſerviency of the people to the will of the crown, and therefore it was carried on. This was the cauſe of the war in 1780. This was the cauſe of the war in 1796, and the people ſhould reflect on this. He had been aſked, whether he joined either of the candidates before them? To which he would anſwer, he joined no candidate whatever; he aſked the ſupport of the electors for himſelf. He aſked them to judge of him, and enquire of themſelves whether he was a fit object of their choice? On the preſent occaſion he had a reſpect for both his competitors. The one, a gallant Admiral who had done ſervice to his country, and had merited eſteem and honour; the other, a gentleman who had been the object of the unjuſt and cruel perſecution of the miniſter, and on that account,

account, as well as others, had a claim on the feelings of his fellow citizens. But he did not think it his duty to canvas for either of them. He canvaſſed for himſelf only; and he did ſo on this ground; that he had ſerved the people of this country with fidelity, with zeal, with conſtancy, againſt the government, the pretended good government of the country; but which in fact employed its means to carry on the purpoſes of corruption. The preſent was not a place to diſcuſs all the points of which that corruption had influence. But there were two points to which he muſt advert—the war, and the ſituation of this country. We were engaged in a foreign war. The purpoſe of that war was, the enſlaving another people, and reſtoring that government, the power and aim of which had always been hoſtilely directed againſt the intereſts of this country. With regard to our domeſtic politics, the power of government had been exerted to the worſt of purpoſes—to adhere, indeed, to the letter, but to deſtroy the ſpirit of our conſtitution.

The object of the miniſters in this war was, to ſupport the ſyſtem of foreign deſpots, and to teach us, if they can, to be the tame ſervants of domeſtic deſpots. Theſe were the ſentiments to which he called the attention of the people in 1780. Theſe were the ſentiments to which he called their attention now. Theſe were the principles in which he had lived, and for which, he truſted, if occaſion ſhould require it, he ſhould die. The electors would readily conceive there was no neceſſity for him to remind them that it was not his practice to make uſe of any language to gain temporary popularity. He needed no ſuch ſubterfuge, nor would he uſe it even to gain his election, if ſuch an artifice were neceſſary; for that would be paying too high a price for the higheſt favour. You ſee in me then, ſaid he, a friend to order, a friend to peace, and a friend to good government; but I will not diſſemble, for I will ſay at once, that, conſtituted as things are at this moment, there is much more danger in aiding the views of deſpotiſm than any thing that is likely to ariſe from the exceſs of popular power. I will never recede from my ſentiments; I will ſtand, while I live, in defence of the rights of the people, and for them I will die, if neceſſary. Government was made for the people—not the people for government. That government is good, in proportion as it promotes the happineſs, and bad, as it occaſions the miſery of the people.

The applauſe of the multitude having ſubſided,

Sir ALAN GARDNER addreſſed them in a ſhort ſpeech, which we heard very imperfectly, as the populace interrupted him very much with their diſapprobation. We collected, however,

however, that he profeſſed an attachment to his King and country, and to the principles of the conſtitution; and that his principles were too well known to need an explanation. His cauſe was now in the hands of the electors of Weſtminſter. He relied on their ſupport, and thanked them for the honour they had done him this day.

Mr. HORNE TOOKE ſaid, that he concurred in every thing which Mr. Fox had ſaid, and that he would by no means have ſtood a candidate for any place, if it had been to the expoſure of the ſeat which Mr. Fox had held in the Houſe of Commons. But it was for the inhabitants of Weſtminſter to conſider, whether it was worth their while to aſſemble together to elect two repreſentatives, one of whom ſhould deſtroy the other —The gallant Admiral, who was a ſtranger to the electors of Weſtminſter, though in one reſpect he was ſufficiently known, had made uſe of one phraſe in his advertiſement, *domeſtic enemies*. This phraſe he thought called for ſome explanation, and this explanation Mr. Fox had given in his advertiſement, when he deſcribed the laſt Parliament, as one that had taken more from the liberties, and added more to the burthens of the people of England, than any former Parliament that had ever exiſted. "One would ſuppoſe," ſaid Mr. H. Tooke, "that we had all written in concert, for I have deſcribed the authors of all the miſchief to be uſurping proprietors of boroughs." Mr. Tooke then alluded to Mr. Fox's declaration, reſpecting the two wars againſt liberty that had taken place during the preſent reign. For his oppoſition to the American, he ſaid that he had been ſentenced to a fine of 1200l. and to twelve months impriſonment. For the part which he had taken with reſpect to the preſent war againſt the liberty of France, he had undergone a cloſe impriſonment of ſeven months, and had been compelled to hold up his hand as a traitor at the Old Bailey. Mr. Tooke then adverted to ſome late proceedings in the Courts of Juſtice, particularly to the ſentence againſt Kyd Wake, a ſentence which, he ſaid, was only fit for the Judges of Hell to pronounce!

The meaning of this ſentence, perhaps, the greater number of his auditors might not underſtand. He was to be kept to hard labour for five years; by kept, every lawyer would underſtand, flogged—that is to ſay, he was liable to be flogged every day, during theſe five years, by a gaoler employed for the purpoſe. Of ſuch a ſentence he was ſure that the humanity of the gallant Admiral would never allow him to approve; he was ſure, at leaſt, that nothing leſs than a penſion could operate as a ſufficient inducement to extort his approbation to ſuch a proceeding. Mr. Horne Tooke, in a very pointed

ſpeech, expreſſed his decided approbation of the public principles avowed by Mr. Fox; and of that line of conduct which he had held; that he, however, could add nothing to what had already been ſaid by Mr. Fox, no language but his own could do juſtice to his ſentiments. He paid many compliments to the private worth and perſonal courage of Admiral Gardner. He conſidered him as compelled to ſtand in his preſent awkward ſituation by the fiat of a ſuperior power. He truſted that miniſters would be ſatisfied with the merit he had ſhown in having ſtood the intolerable battery to which he was now expoſed, and that the perſonal courage of the gallant Admiral would be ſufficiently gratified in having encountered the brunt of the conteſt, and having been rejected. "We will guard ourſelves," ſaid Mr. Tooke, "againſt our domeſtic enemies, and we will leave to the gallant Admiral to reap thoſe laurels againſt our enemies abroad, which I am ſure he will always merit by his profeſſional exertions."

SECOND DAY.—SATURDAY, MAY 28.

At the cloſe of the poll, this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox - - - - - - - - - - - -	480
Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - - - -	372
Mr. HORNE TOOKE - - - - - - -	258

Mr. FOX thanked the electors; and merely added, that he regarded the polling of the day as a freſh teſtimony of the electors approving his paſt ſervices. He was received with unbounded applauſe.

Sir ALAN GARDNER then endeavoured to addreſs the electors; but the uproar was ſo great, that we could not hear one word he uttered.

Mr. HORNE TOOKE addreſſed the electors in a very diverting manner; and obſerved, that, if a man was to faſten two horſes to a cart, the one at the head and the other at the tail of it, and ſhould then attempt to drive them to ſome particular place at a diſtance, their heads being in different directions, they would draw one againſt another: a man who acted in that manner would not be very likely to arrive ſoon at the end of his journey. Such would be the caſe of the electors if they returned Mr. Fox and Admiral Gardner; for, certain it was, they would pull in oppoſite directions. He ſaid, he never would be of any party; for, in party matters a man's honour might be committed, and every man's honour ought to be in his own keeping. Should he be elected, his own conſcience and the inſtructions, the orders, and the commands of his conſtituents ſhould always be, and ſhould only be, the

the guiders, directors, and controulers of his own conduct. However, he thought it proper to ſay, he did not differ from Mr. Fox in the ſentiments which he had declared to the electors already. He ſhould be glad to have the advantage of the aſſiſtance of his tranſcendant abilities. This was an advantage which a miniſterial candidate never would aſk, or, if he ſhould aſk, was not likely to have; but an advantage which Mr. Fox moſt probably would but ſeldom deny to an oppoſition member.

This conteſt, he ſaid, as far as it had gone, had been of very great advantage to him, for it had ſhewn that Mr. Pitt was ſtill his enemy, that there was no man whom he hated more. From the time when Mr. Pitt was made the dictator of this country, not by the people, but by the pretorian bands, by means which we all know, by contracts, by places, by penſions, and by bribes, it certainly was an advantage to an honeſt man to be marked as his enemy; although many were deſirous to be thought his friends, and had received theſe penſions and bribes for ſervices that deſerved a halter.

The courſe of the poll had ſhewn, and would continue to ſhew, that he was the moſt hated by Mr. Pitt, and poſſibly moſt feared by him. This was his advantage. The advantage to the electors was, that they ſhewed, by polling for him, their independence. But a much more important advantage might ariſe from this election. The electors might teach to the preſent and to future courts a leſſon, that they may diſcharge all means of bribery or corruption, all indirect practices from their ſyſtem of government, and truſt only to their own juſt power; for they muſt draw this concluſion, that if the people ſubmit to government now, great indeed would their gratitude be if they found that the only objects which the court had in view were the liberty, proſperity, and happineſs of the people.—This ſpeech was followed by loud ſhouts of applauſe from the populace.

THIRD DAY.—MONDAY, MAY 30.

At the cloſe of the poll, this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox - - - - - - - - - - -	769
Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - - - -	718
Mr. HORNE TOOKE - - - - - - -	559

Mr. Fox addreſſed the electors very conciſely. He ſaid he did not conſider the event of this day's poll as any thing unfavourable to his cauſe. But he hoped that this would be the laſt day in which the ſtate of the poll ſhould be againſt him. On the general principles which he had profeſſed already, he

had nothing new to ſtate. They all knew the grounds on which he ſolicited the ſuffrages of the electors of Weſtminſter, and he hoped, and truſted he ſhould always juſtify the partiality which they had ſo often ſhewn to him on former occaſions. He was applauded as uſual.

Sir ALAN GARDNER endeavoured to addreſs the populace, but could not obtain a hearing.

Mr. HORNE TOOKE then came forward, and ſaid, Gentlemen, Your candidate, Sir Alan Gardner, has told you in his advertiſement, and every day that he has ſtood before you, that he is a friend to his king and to his country. It is neceſſary for me alſo, by the ſtate of the poll, to ſay that I love the king according to law; but I love my country better; for the king may be employed in chacing the harmleſs ſtag, or the timorous hare, while his miniſters may be employed in the more deſperate chace of running down his people. I ſay I love the king according to law, and whenever the king ſhall protect me and my fellow ſubjects from the murderous plots and conſpiracies of his miniſters, I will love him beyond the law.

The gallant admiral has told you he has two loves, and he ſeems to have made a very prudent choice, and to be a very thrifty wooer.—For the love of his country he has obtained, and deſervedly obtained, the rank, honour, and emoluments of his profeſſion.—He is an admiral and a baronet.—For his love to his king, the miniſter has appointed him to the Admiralty Board, with a ſalary, as I take it, of 1200l. a year.—[*Here ſomebody contradicted him.*] He proceeded. If I have cauſed a miſtake, or have been miſtaken, let me rectify as I go: The admiral has been delivered of his ſecond love, and this intelligence can neither hurt me nor him, for he would not be the firſt admiral who after being divorced married his lady again. Although unfortunate in his firſt amour, would you not be ſupriſed to be told that the admiral has fallen in love again. He has fallen in love with a widow, who, in her weeds for her laſt huſband, has obtained a Britiſh peerage for her portion. But is there any thing extraordinary that a baronet (a little baron) ſhould wiſh to be a great one, a title too often diſpoſed of at the cloſe of a diſſolution of Parliament —for myſelf I cannot help conſidering it as ſomething like political adultery—for myſelf, I ſay, I ſhould think it as much honour to be called a cuckold as to be called a lord.

The worthy admiral ſays he wiſhes to protect us from our foreign and domeſtic enemies. In this he muſt be ſincere, becauſe he has ſaid it; and I do not mean to ſay or hint any thing to the contrary. I have an intereſt in the ſincerity of it, for that

will

will ſpeedily determine the conteſt in which this country is engaged. The expence of corruption neceſſary to obtain a majority of votes on the beginning of a war, and the expence of corruption in the continuance of a war, are many times greater than would be ſufficient to carry on a defenſive war againſt all the world. It is not poſſible for this country, for any length of time, under the double expence of war and corruption, to carry on a conteſt againſt a nation which has caſt off corruption. If the country with which we are at war has caſt off corruption, if this be the chief cauſe of her ſucceſs, ſurely then the caſting off corruption would be of more advantage to this country than the efforts, however great, of any ſingle admiral in the world, or of all the admirals in this country together. Thus, then, I have ſhewed to the admiral, and to you, and to the public (unleſs he or any other man can contradict the ſtatement,) how the admiral can protect us from all our foes, and that is by bringing to juſtice our domeſtic enemies, and by deſtroying that corruption which prevents our ſucceſs. I think I have pointed out to the admiral his duty.—I think I ſhall be able to prove that the practice of miniſters, in the courſe of this election, (as I am perſuaded myſelf,) are ſuch that the admiral will not ſuffer his name to be joined to them, for I cannot think that he will ſuffer his name to be joined to thoſe who are deſtroying this country, both at home and abroad; then will the admiral's name go down to poſterity. [*Here he was interrupted by the populace, who did not reliſh any thing like praiſe to the admiral.*] He proceeded—I mean to ſay enough, and not too much—The difficulty with me is not to bring out words, but to ſtop them—I am ſorry I have detained you ſo long; but I truſt I have made that impreſſion on the admiral, which will make him retire from this conteſt.—[*Great applauſe followed this ſpeech.*]

FOURTH DAY.—TUESDAY, MAY 31.

At the cloſe of the poll, this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox - - - - - - - - - - -	1121
Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - - - -	1010
Mr. HORNE TOOKE - - - - - - -	893

Mr. Fox then briefly addreſſed the electors:

Perſeverance in a good cauſe is the ſure way of gaining and continuing to have perſevering friends. I have had the good fortune to be favoured by you many different times, and in different ſituations: you have never deſerted me in any; and, therefore, I ſhould be the baſeſt of mankind, if any thing whatever ſhould induce me to deſert you.

This ſhort addreſs was received with rapture.

Sir

Sir ALAN GARDNER attempted to ſpeak; but the people were ſo very noiſy and clamorous, he could not be heard.

Mr. HORNE TOOKE came forward and ſaid, Gentlemen, When I had the honour of addreſſing you yeſterday, I was interrupted in conſequence of a miſtake which I made in reſpect to the miniſterial candidate; not having ſtudied the Red Book ſo fully as I might have done, they were glad of an opportunity of ſhewing that the admiral was not at preſent a Lord of the Admiralty. But this was an error to which every man is liable, for they ſhift their places and their titles ſo frequently, it is impoſſible to know by what names they chuſe to be called, ſince the Lord Hawkeſbury of yeſterday is to-day the Earl of Liverpool. In conſequence of this miſtake, I did apply myſelf to the ſtudy of the Red Book, and found the admiral's name. If he thought it an advantage to him to deny that he was at the Admiralty Board, will he think it an advantage to him that he has the ſinecure place of Major General of Marines? For his friend, who is equally anxious to prove that he has not a ſeat at the Admiralty, he, likewiſe, has a ſinecure place of Collector at St. Kitt's; I take it of 1600l. a-year.

However, for the miſtake I hope they will forgive me, when they conſider that I never did, nor ever will receive, from the preſent or any future King or Adminiſtration, directly or indirectly, by myſelf or any other perſon, the benefit of one farthing.—Having ſettled that account, I beg to take notice to you of converſations which have taken place between the friends of the miniſterial candidate, and of circumſtances which have been ſtated in a miniſterial paper of this day.—It has been mentioned as a ſubject of reproach, that there was a coalition between Mr. Fox and myſelf. I mention it the rather, becauſe it may poſſibly ſerve in ſome meaſure to direct the conduct of the electors in the future courſe of the poll.

The miniſters have ſhewn that they fear it and dread it, and well they may; for if all the perſons who have voted ſingly for Mr. Fox had given their ſecond votes to me, and all who have voted ſingly for me had given their ſecond votes for Mr. Fox, the miniſterial candidate muſt by this time have turned tail with diſgrace. You will give me leave to ſtate to you what is the cauſe of this miniſterial fear: it is not ſo much that they fear the loſs of one vote more or leſs in the houſe, as that they ſeek to make it appear that the public is weaker than it really is, and that the miniſterial influence is ſtronger than it really is. And thoſe who conſult the poll, which very few ever do, will perceive that the numbers who have polled for Mr. Fox and me on this occaſion, will ſhew what a decided opinion has been given

given by the electors againſt the preſent deteſtable adminiſtration.

I wiſh that the poll of this day may be the example of the future days of the poll. Mr. Fox is at the head of the poll: it gives him pleaſure, and I deſire it ſhould be ſo. I am the ſecond upon the poll; and, I think, I have polled between 0 and 50 to-day more than the admiral.

I have ventured to ſay this to you, not fearful of any imputation of coalition, for my character is known to be intractable, if you pleaſe, obſtinate. I hope, however, I am very flexible to reaſon and ſound argument; but I do acknowledge, and I make it my boaſt, tha upon all great public queſtions, neither friends nor foes, nor life nor death, nor thunder nor lightning, ſhall ever make me give way the breadth of one hair.

FIFTH DAY.—WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1.

At the cloſe of the poll this day, the numbers were—

For Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - - -	1750
Mr. FOX - - - - - - - - - - -	1616
Mr. TOOKE - - - - - - - - - -	1192

Mr. Fox then addreſſed the electors, and ſaid, Gentlemen, Notwithſtanding the poll is not in my favour to-day, I have no fear of ultimate ſucceſs. The circumſtance of the firſt of June has, I preſume, been the cauſe that the admiral has headed me between two and three hundred votes; I think it neceſſary to ſay, that the reports, that I have joined either of the other two reſpectable gentlemen, are wholly unfounded. I declared to you at the commencement of this election, that I ſtood before you wholly unconnected with any other candidate. I conſider that declaration of mine in the nature of an engagement. Having therefore made that engagement, it ſhall not be a queſtion with me whether that engagement was a prudent one or not from me; you ſhall always find me liberally and conſtantly adhering to it. When I ſay this, I mean it in a literal ſenſe. I aſk your votes for me only. I have not by myſelf, nor by others, aſked any one elector to join my name to any other candidate for whom ſuch elector had an inclination to poll. I am, however, equally obliged to thoſe electors who join my name to any other candidate for whom they poll. Having ſaid this, I will add, that I am glad I have no reaſon to doubt that you approve of my former conduct in parliament; and that the recollection of it is not leſs agreeable to you now than it has been on former occaſions, although I am not at the head of the poll this day. But if you look at the poll books,

you

you will find that the ſucceſs of the court candidate has come from the ſame quarter as it has done on former occaſions; and every man intereſted in that quarter has given his ſingle vote, as if the election actually depended upon it. I am, as I ſaid before, entirely neutral as to the other candidates. But I have been told that there would be no difficulty in my being at the head of the poll at this moment, if I had not expreſſed my ſentiments as not agreeable to you with regard to the other candidates. That I ſhould have any neceſſity of explaining myſelf to you, I own, mortifies me. What! am I then, after all, ſo little known to you? Am I in a ſituation that ſhould make it my intereſt to conceal my ſentiments from you, or from the world at large? And that at a time too when the ſentiments of all men ſhould be known. My ſentiments are now what they have been, and often expreſſed—that the preſent government ſupports itſelf by corruption. My opinion is, that the encroachments made on the rights of the people for a ſeries of years, but moſt of all by the two bills which paſſed laſt ſeſſion of parliament, have deſtroyed the eſſential and the vital parts of the conſtitution of this country. My opinion continues to be, that miniſters have engaged in a war which has occaſioned all the diſtreſſes you have lately ſuffered—and that a great deal more which you will ſuffer will lie at the door of thoſe who engaged you to carry on this accurſed war.

It remains for you, in this election, by the ſituation which you may give to me, to ſay what ſenſe you have of that war; it remains for you, by this election, to ſhew whether I am now leſs eſteemed by you than on former occaſions, on account of the oppoſition which I have given to that war which I behold in the ſame light as I have always beheld it.

When I conſider the ſtate of this election, I am led to ſay you are more intereſted in it than myſelf in reſpect to the numbers on the poll. If it ſhould appear that I have a leſs number than another, it will be interpreted by thoſe who know pretty well, and who are always ready to interpret every thing they can into their own favour, and to their own advantage, that the ſenſe of the city of Weſtminſter is againſt thoſe who have ſupported me. That indeed would mortify me; but indeed I cannot help thinking it would be ſtill more injurious to you than to me. [*This ſpeech was received with very great applauſe.*]

Sir ALAN GARDNER came forward to ſpeak, but the people would not hear him.

After which Mr. TOOKE ſpoke as follows:

Sir Alan Gardner has this moment deſired me to ſpeak a few words for him. I beg that you would hear the Admiral. I have a great intereſt that you ſhould do ſo. I ſhould be extremely

tremely gratified if you would at all times hear Admiral Gardner ſpeak againſt himſelf. It is impoſſible, and would be unbecoming in me, to ſay ſo much againſt the admiral as he would againſt himſelf.

After what Mr. Fox has ſaid, it is fit for me to give ſome account of my conduct during the poll. I have never made any engagement except one—except that engagement which I entered into ſhortly after I was born, to oppoſe by all the means in my power, oppreſſion and tyranny, in whatever ſhape they preſented themſelves.

I have not preſumed to dictate to any elector; but, whoever has aſked my opinion, I have done what I ſhall continue to do—I have begged him to vote for Mr. Fox. I am not, have not been, and cannot be neutral; even what Mr. Fox has this moment ſaid, makes it impoſſible—for he has declared, that the miniſtry build their power upon corruption, and that by their two infamous bills, they have deſtroyed the very vitals of the conſtitution. How then can I be poſſibly neutral, when one of the candidates, Mr. Fox, oppoſed theſe meaſures; and the other candidate is now connected with them, and was a member of the laſt parliament, giving his aid to all thoſe evils of which we complain. But when I ſay ſo, though I differ with Mr. Fox on this occaſion, as I have on other occaſions, I impute nothing to him; he has his way of thinking, and I have mine.

The miniſtry have made a great poll to-day, and if there were any adverſity in it, it would not be ſo bitter to me as to thoſe not ſo much accuſtomed to it, becauſe it has been the chief food of my life; but I do not conſider it as adverſity. The ſeat is by no means the ultimate object of my purſuit, it makes but a ſmall part of what I ſeek; however I believe, in ſpite of this poll, that that ſeat will ſtill be obtained. I have been aſked by ſome of my friends, and thoſe ſome of the beſt friends of the public cauſe in which we are engaged, how I could poſſibly expect to ſucceed in this election againſt a miniſtry who had been able in three years to raiſe and ſquander ſo many millions to the king of Pruſſia, the king of Sardinia, the emperor of Germany, to Heſſe, to Hanover, to Brunſwick, and the reſt of the hirelings?

I have been aſked beſides, will not they who have ſpent a hundred thouſand pounds in the late proſecutions—who have impriſoned and ruined hundreds of innocent men, merely to deſtroy me—will they not ſpend two hundred thouſand pounds, if neceſſary, to keep me out of parliament?

Gentlemen, theſe queſtions appear to me to be reaſonable and well founded. But this does not diſmay me, let it not diſmay

you. [*Here many cried out*, " *It never ſhall.*"] The millions which they have already ſquandered upon deſpots in this cruſade for deſpotiſm, are gone from this country never to return; and many millions more than they can by any means extort from us, will ſtill be wanted for the ſame purpoſe. This profuſe and profligate miniſtry, the friends of the candidate at the head of the poll, are deep in arrears of every kind. They are deep in debt to every perſon and every ſervice. The conſtable who took me into cuſtody attended (an honeſt and a good man) he attended the firſt day of the poll, to give me a vote. [*A long interruption by a great ſhouting, during which Sir Alan Gardner ſaid*, " *Hear the ſequel! hear the ſequel!*"] Sir Alan Gardner begs you to hear the ſequel. I'll give it. The conſtable complains that Mr. Dundas, who gave him that illegal and infamous warrant, for which he muſt one day be brought to juſtice; he complains, that this ſcoundrel ſecretary of ſtate [*A long interruption by the miniſterialiſts.*] I deſire to be clearly underſtood [*interruption*] let me be fairly underſtood. I mean that he is a ſcoundrel both as a ſecretary of ſtate and a man. I wiſh to tell you that ſequel which Sir Alan Gardner recommended you to hear. I was ſpeaking of the conſtable. He complained that this ſecretary of ſtate, who ſends him to take up and put in dungeons better men than himſelf, never paid him a farthing for his trouble. He complains that they owe him near three hundred pounds.

I have before deſired you not to be diſmayed at this poll, nor ſhould you be diſmayed at the appearance of the ſtate of the country. The miniſtry have undertaken what is beyond their power. The expence of enforcing ſlavery in Europe, whilſt they are eſtabliſhing it at home, will exceed the wealth of all the individuals of this country collectively, although they ſhould continue for ever tame enough to be drained and beggared to the laſt ſhilling in this cauſe. It is pretty evident, nay, it is plain, that their reſources begin to fail; one reſource, however, they have—I know they have it—to procure ready money for elections of this kind, for I know they have uſed it before upon ſimilar occaſions. I'll tell you as ſhortly as I can, and afterwards the reaſons why I tell it you.

An act of parliament was made ſome years ago to prevent the miſapplication of public money—the receipt for the different offices is ſent to the Bank, and the different boards are to give ſpecific drafts for the ſpecific purpoſes to which the money is to be applied. The ſolicitor or agent produces certain bills to the board, which, he ſays, ſhould be paid—the board orders the payment, ſo that all things ſtand fair in their account—the money is received from the Bank (I ſpeak, I believe, in the hearing of perſons

perſons who know the truth of what I ſay.) The confidential agent or ſolicitor receives that money, and lends it to the confidential friend of the miniſter, to ——— at our elections.

Thus you ſee no laws will ever make us ſafe, unleſs we have a fair repreſentation of the people in the houſe of commons, to enforce the execution of the laws.

Now for the reaſons why I have told you this: firſt, to ſhew you that ours is a trifling and ridiculous triumph, when they reluctantly give us an honeſt law or two that will never effectually be put in practice. And, in the next place, to give warning to all concerned in this iniquity. I give them warning—you will certainly return me, and I ſhall certainly bring them to juſtice. Now then, Gentlemen, for the laſt reaſon, and I am ſorry I have detained you ſo long. I hope this will tend to make us even more unanimous than we are, that even thoſe contractors and tradeſmen of government, and public creditors, who muſt vote againſt me, who are compelled to have their names appear upon the miniſterial liſt at an election, will ſee that it is their intereſt that I ſhould be returned, that the public creditor may not be unjuſtly kept out of his money, but have it fairly as ſoon as his bill is ordered for payment.

SIXTH DAY.—THURSDAY, JUNE 2.

At the cloſe of the poll, this day, the numbers were—

For Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - - - -	2116
Mr. FOX - - - - - - - - - - - -	1978
Mr. TOOKE - - - - - - - - - - -	1377

Mr. Fox addreſſed the electors, and took notice of the friendly declaration which was made in his behalf yeſterday by Mr. Tooke, for which he thanked him. He obſerved, that he had been informed that the friends of Sir Alan Gardner had, many of them, canvaſſed for that gallant Admiral, and particularly deſired that their friends ſhould not poll for him (Mr. Fox). He was not at liberty, he ſaid, to ſolicit any perſons to poll for any perſon but himſelf. He conſidered himſelf as having, by his advertiſement and addreſs to the electors, pledged himſelf to that effect; but he could not help ſaying, that with reſpect to one of the other candidates who ſtood before them, he was obliged to him for his friendly declaration; to the other he certainly owed no obligation; all he begged of the electors was to continue their exertions in his favour; for no other perſon did he ſolicit. He had experienced too many proofs of the affection of the electors towards him to have any doubts of ſucceſs on the preſent

conteſt. He had too deep a ſenſe of the obligations which they had conferred on him to alter his determination to defend their intereſts.——[*He was received with great applauſe, and no voice was heard againſt him.*]

Sir ALAN GARDNER ſaid, that neither himſelf, nor any of his friends, to his knowledge, had deſired thoſe who ſhould vote for him, not to vote for Mr. Fox. He hoped that the electors would continue to give him ſupport, as they had done already. He relied on their exertions, and had no doubt of ſucceſs.—[*A great number of perſons applauded, and the multitude diſapproved of this addreſs.*]

Mr. TOOKE then came forward and ſaid, Gentlemen, I rarely trouble you with any reference to the numbers on the poll, but I muſt intreat you not to be alarmed at the numbers you have ſeen to-day. I beg you to reflect, that little more than three thouſand perſons have polled, and that there remain ten thouſand electors who have not yet given their votes. I beg you to conſider the difference between the voters —the voters for the miniſterial candidate are diſciplined troops; —on our ſide they are all volunteers, and as independent in the times of their coming up to poll as they are in the motives for their votes.—Conſider, beſides, that the placemen, the penſioners, and contractors are all ſtruggling hard for their profits, and others for their forfeited lives. Their eagerneſs then will not ſurpriſe you, and that will account for the alertneſs of the poll on their ſide; but I little doubt that Mr. Fox and myſelf ſhall ſtill both of us ſucceed in this election. If it ſhould be otherwiſe, if the worſt ſhould happen, let this be our comfort, it will not be a pardon for the crimes of the miniſtry, but only a ſhort reprieve.

During the courſe of this poll, Mr. Fox and myſelf have had a diſadvantage—a diſadvantage which your juſtice and kindneſs to us will, I hope, remove. The diſadvantage is that by permitting us to addreſs you, and liſtening to what we ſay, we are not only liable to miſtakes, to which all men are ſubject, and eſpecially in ſuch a ſituation as this, but we are alſo liable to thoſe miſrepreſentations and miſinterpretations which our adverſaries are very induſtrious to circulate. From this diſadvantage the admiral has been relieved. This day you have, for the firſt time, done what I hope your juſtice to him and your kindneſs to us will induce you to do during the remainder of the poll. You have heard, and will continue to hear, the gallant admiral.

There has been a miſinterpretation or miſapprehenſion of two things which I ſaid yeſterday; the firſt requires a very

ſhort

ſhort explanation. I ſaid, it would gratify me if you would permit the worthy admiral to ſpeak againſt himſelf. I meant by ſpeaking againſt himſelf, no want of ability, no perſonal imputation upon him, but merely, that in order to defend himſelf he muſt defend the miniſtry by whom he is ſupported, and to whom he has given and muſt hereafter give his ſupport; and I ſuppoſed, that his defence of the miniſtry would be the ſtrongeſt condemnation of himſelf.

I have but one circumſtance more to mention to you—it brings with it ſuch thoughts into my mind as almoſt prevents my utterance. I applied an epithet, a groſs one in a very perſonal manner, and which muſt needs have been offenſive to the ears of all decent men. But if they will give me a patient hearing, and liſten to the end of what I have to ſay, I flatter myſelf, that the candidate himſelf, and all his friends, and all the adherents even of the miniſtry, will go away ſatisfied with me this day. I ſhall have no occaſion for reaſoning or argument, but ſhall barely ſtate a fact.

It is unneceſſary to bring back to your memory, that I have been kept in cloſe cuſtody ſeven months—excluded, during that time, from all communication or correſpondence with any of my family or friends. It is unneceſſary to remind you, that I have held up my hand, as a traitor, at the bar of the Old Bailey. But, with what I ſhall tell you, I ſuppoſe you are all entirely unacquainted, becauſe it is not to be found in any account of the proceedings.

Mr. Dundas, my next door neighbour, and who had been ſo for two years, knew perfectly well the ſituation of my family, with which others of the miniſtry might not perhaps be acquainted; but he knew it perfectly well. My family conſiſts ſingly of myſelf, and two young women, my children. He, a father of children himſelf, took me away ſuddenly, detained me in cloſe cuſtody, without any communication or correſpondence, and left my houſe and my family for twelve days and nights in the poſſeſſion of four common thief-takers from the police-office.

It almoſt overpowers me when I think of it.—Look at the refinement of this man's malice, it was not enough that my head ſhould be ſtuck upon a pole, that my body ſhould be quartered, that my fortune ſhould be confiſcated, and that my children ſhould be ſent out naked, and friendleſs, and beggars into the world, unleſs he could contrive that they ſhould be ſent out diſhonoured too. Theſe are the men whom the admiral muſt ſupport. I muſt do juſtice to one perſon in the adminiſtration, who was a father, and in a ſituation like my own—he felt compaſſion for me, and did contrive a communi-

cation

cation for me, by which I was enabled to prevail upon a lady and her daughter to put themſelves into the ſame terrible circumſtances, and go down to my houſe in the middle of the night, to continue and reſide with my family, to ſave them from this intended diſhonour.

Now then, Gentlemen, I call upon all who hear me—men, women, parents, children, the candidate himſelf, and his adherents, if they have hearts let them ſay, whether I was wrong in the epithet I uſed. For my own part, I ſay I was wrong in uſing that epithet, but I was wrong by neceſſity, for there was no word in the language ſtrong enough to apply to him.

SEVENTH DAY.—FRIDAY, JUNE 3.

At the cloſe of the poll, this day, the numbers were—

For Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - - - -	2349
Mr. FOX - - - - - - - - - - - -	2275
Mr. HORNE TOOKE - - - - - - -	1569

Mr. FOX then addreſſed the electors. He obſerved, that when he recollected that near 6000 of them had polled for him upon a former election, he entertained no doubt that he ſhould be at the head of the poll in this; and he could not help thinking, that the preſent political ſtate of the city of Weſtminſter would ſhew to the people of this country at large, that his conſtituents approved as much of his late conduct, as their repreſentative, as they ever did on any former occaſion; that this, in ſhort, was the moment of his life in which they moſt approved of him.

Sir ALAN GARDNER then addreſſed the electors, and all that we were able to collect of what he ſaid, amidſt ſo much tumult, was, that he profeſſed an attachment to his King and the Conſtitution, which he would endeavour to protect againſt foreign and domeſtic enemies. There was a rumour, he ſaid, that there was a coalition between the other two candidates. He ſaid, that if he was returned to parliament, he ſhould oppoſe Mr. Fox, becauſe he did not like the political principles of that Right Hon. Gentleman. He would tell them why he did not like his political principles. He had been in the Houſe of Commons for ſome years, and he did not know a vote which the Right Hon. Gentlemen had given that was not againſt the meaſures of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, good or bad. He could not conclude that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was in the wrong; for if he was, he would not be allowed to remain in his ſituation: he believed, indeed, that the Miniſter was beloved throughout the country. A Gentleman on his left hand had informed them ſome time ago, that he (the Admiral)

was

was Major General of the Marines: he was Major General of the Marines, and that office was given to him in the moſt gracious manner by his Sovereign, for the good opinion which his Sovereign entertained of him for all his ſervices, and, among the reſt, his ſervices on the 1ſt of June. His life had been devoted to the ſervice of his country, and that brought him to the rank and ſtation which he now held.

Mr. Fox replied with great animation to the obſervations of Admiral Gardner. The Admiral, ſaid he, has ſaid that I have made a coalition with the other candidate: now after I had ſolemnly declared upon my honour before you, and in his hearing, the very contrary of this, I think I was entitled to credit as a gentleman. I think alſo that the Admiral, when he mentioned the rumour, might have ventured to ſtate his belief of that rumour, for he will not ſay here, or any where elſe, that what I have aſſerted before you is not true—I believe he will not. I have already told you I ſolicit your votes for myſelf only. He tells you why he diſlikes my politics: he diſlikes them, becauſe I have always oppoſed the preſent Miniſter. But he ſhould point out any meaſure that I have oppoſed that was beneficial to this country, before he ſhould make the oppoſition I have given a charge againſt me. I have oppoſed this war: will the Admiral ſhew to you the impropriety of that oppoſition? Will he ſhew to you what we have gained by this? Will he ſhew to you what enemies we have defeated, or what allies we have protected?—The Admiral has laid down a rule to-day, by which we are to underſtand that Mr. Pitt muſt be in the right, becauſe otherwiſe he would be out of employment. The Admiral, who I ſuppoſe is a fair man, has made uſe of an excellent argument, by which you are to learn that he is of opinion, that every Miniſter is right, *becauſe he is Miniſter!* The Admiral, who is a plain ſpeaking man, has given you, in a few words, the creed of all courtiers, and the principle which all miniſterial candidates follow—"That whoever the King appoints muſt be in the right, and ſhall by him, and all men like him, be ſupported."—But as I learnt the conſtitution of this country from my youth, to this hour I have always been of opinion, that Parliament ſhould be the judge of the propriety of the conduct of the King's Miniſters, and that to ſuppoſe "that all men are right becauſe they have places," is the doctrine of our new conſtitution, which I do not ſubſcribe to nor revere. It is the old conſtitution of Great Britain that I love. The Admiral's doctrine, "that every man is right, becauſe he is in office," is not to be found in our old conſtitution. You know my hiſtory—there is no part of my political

political conduct of which I repent, and therefore no part of it which I intend to alter. [*This ſpeech was received with that loud demonſtration of joy which is expreſſive of the heart-felt ſatisfaction of a multitude of perſons who revere the orator who addreſſes them.*]

Mr. TOOKE then addreſſed the electors as follows: Gentlemen, Before you heard the Admiral, I told you that which you ſhould now conſider, that if the Admiral ſpoke, he would ſpeak againſt himſelf. You have heard him—and I now aſk you, that having heard him, are you not of opinion that he has ſpoken againſt himſelf? [*No! no! was vociferated on the one ſide, and Yes! yes! on the other.*]—But the Admiral's condemnation upon this election is contained in his own words: he ſays, that Mr. Fox always voted againſt the meaſures of the Miniſter, "good or bad." Need I draw the conſequence—that the Admiral, in ſpeaking for the Miniſter, has ſpoken againſt himſelf? for he owns by his ſpeech, that the Miniſter has brought forward bad meaſures. The Admiral has altered his addreſs to you ſince this election began: he is a week older—he is no longer a *lover*, but a friend—he tells you he is a friend to the King, and a friend to the Conſtitution—I did not hear him ſay one word about the people. [*Here there was an uproar of applauſe from the multitude.*] He forbears to ſay any thing about the people. He has likewiſe ſaid, that he is a friend to the Miniſtry; and, although he has not ſaid ſo, I ſuppoſe he would wiſh it to be underſtood, that he is alſo a friend to his country. To be a friend to both, at this time, appears to me to be very difficult: however, it is not abſolutely inconſiſtent in the Admiral, if you take into conſideration the time and place in which he ſays it. He declares himſelf a friend to the country on the Huſtings, and he may prove himſelf the friend of the Miniſter in his vote in the Houſe of Commons. But it appears to me of ſmall conſequence to you, whether the Admiral has been the friend of the Miniſter or not. The queſtion he ſhould have agitated was, whether you would have a friend of the Miniſter or not? He ſhould have given ſome reaſon to direct the conduct of this poll. In his friendſhip for the Miniſter, he ſhould adhere to the old proverb—"that you ſhould always praiſe the bridge that carries you ſafe over." You need not be at much trouble to ſettle the queſtion at whoſe expence the bridge was built, or who is to keep it in repair. Yet I do beg not to be miſunderſtood: I do not mean to ſay, that the late repreſentative of this city, Lord Hood, or the preſent candidate, Sir Alan Gardner, have had, or ever will have, what they deſerve for their profeſſional merits.

At

At no one time has it ever happened, or I am afraid it ever will happen, when men ſhould be rewarded as they deſerve for their naval and military ſervices; they are the moſt ungrateful of all ſervices, and in which neither private men or officers are ſufficiently taken care of or rewarded; but what I complain of, and what the public have reaſon to complain of, is, that Miniſters pervert the talents of men in theſe ſervices, and make uſe of them as an inſtrument to deſtroy the liberty of this country. The Miniſters often ſend men of no character, or men of infamous character [*ſuch as yours*, was uttered by ſome perſon: this was reſented by the populace, which produced a great uproar]. It was but one voice I heard againſt me, but if there were a thouſand, I would ſay they ought to be heard againſt me, as well as thoſe who ſpeak againſt Sir Alan Gardner.—Although the character of the candidate is of no conſequence in a venal borough, the character of a candidate in a popular city like this, where the people have ſome ſhare in the election, is of importance, and therefore Miniſters take care to have the beſt character they can find, who will ſubmit to be ſo uſed, to put him up, that the people may be deceived, for the people do not always conſider the conſequences, but are dazzled by the glare of the character of a man who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf on points that have nothing to do with the merits of an election. If a man of common ſenſe was to be addreſſed in this way by another, "Sir, I have here by my ſide a moſt excellent *cook*, he has ſerved up for me very good dinners, I recommend him to you for a *hair-dreſſer*," what would you think of ſuch a recommendation? Such is the manner in which Miniſters inſult your underſtanding by propoſing the Admiral for your choice as your repreſentative in Parliament. If the Admiral ſhould queſtion me about the rigging of a ſhip, I certainly ſhould make but a ſcurvy figure [*as you do on the buſtings*, ſaid ſomebody behind him, which produced another violent uproar, and the perſon who uttered it was very roughly treated, and the cry of out! out! was vociferated from ſeveral quarters]. If I was to put the Admiral to queſtion concerning the rigging of a Conſtitution, I believe he would not make a much better figure. Gentlemen, what has the glorious firſt of June to do with the choice of a Repreſentative in Parliament? And yet the Miniſter has made that a ſhameful pretence for the influence of corruption, and I have no doubt but you will alſo have another gallant ſervice of the 4th of June. All ſorts of decent reſpect to the King are certainly proper, but is that the anniverſary moſt dear to Engliſhmen? Is there no other anniverſary dear to us? Yes, there is one that is more dear to us than the birth-days of all the Kings who have ever infeſted, or who have bleſſed the earth. I mean the birth-day of our liberty, the anniverſary of the Revolution of

1688; that Revolution, obtained by our forefathers, was by them expreſsly intended to guard us againſt the evils of which we now complain, and againſt the politics which the Admiral now avows. The Admiral contents himſelf with telling us, that he is a friend to the Miniſters, but he did not tell whether it was from their integrity or their wiſdom that he admired them. We all of us feel their integrity in the taxes and the burthens which they have laid upon us, and as to their wiſdom, let me give to you an idea and a ſample of it.

The people were ſtarving for bread—the wiſe Corporation of the City of London met from day to day to find ſome relief to the ſtarving people. The Privy Couucil met, and they requeſted the Corporation to ſuſpend their determination until they (the Privy Council) could find relief—What did this Privy Council ſay?—that they muſt find a ſubſtitute—to Engliſhmen a ſubſtitute for bread!!! If you do not admire the wiſdom, admire the impudence of it. Obſerve what would follow this. Suppoſe you had accepted of graſs for a ſubſtitute? If that had ever become the food of man, there would have been a ſcarcity of that too, and you would have had to find another ſubſtitute. But I ſay to you, put up with no ſubſtitute for bread—never do ſo, for if you ever do—if once you take leſs of that article than is neceſſary, you never will have more. The Admiral tells you, that if he had as many words at command as the Gentleman on his left hand, he would then do ſomething or other, I know not what. You muſt know that he has every day expended more words in contending with me upon the Huſtings, than either Mr. Fox or myſelf, and more than both of us together. The Admiral has a very good voice, when his words are well choſen. If he ſpeaks on a ſubject which he underſtands, and is not called upon to ſpeak his ſentiments, no man can ſpeak better than the Admiral; but he is out of his element here—he is not fit to be the tool of the Miniſter—he has a part to act which does not ſuit him. I ſhall trouble you no more at preſent. I hope you will call on the Admiral for his reply."

The applauſe after this ſpeech was prodigious.

EIGHTH DAY. SATURDAY, JUNE 4.

At the cloſe of the Poll this day, the numbers were

For Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - - - -	2624
Mr. FOX - - - - - - - - - - - -	2529
Mr. TOOKE - - - - - - - - - - -	1634

After the Poll the different Candidates came forward and addreſſed the Electors.

Mr. FOX.—"You will perceive that the gallant Admiral has headed me to the number of twenty-one on this day's poll. The event

event of the ſeven days' poll which remain, will ſerve to mark your approbation or diſapprobation of my Parliamentary conduct. I ſhall only aſſure you, that it will at all times be the greateſt pride of my life, firſt to merit, and next to enjoy the good opinion of the Electors of Weſtminſter."

Sir A. GARDNER.—"Mr. Fox has juſt informed you that I am at the head of the poll. For this honourable ſituation I certainly am much obliged to you; and I have only to ſay, that if you continue your exertions I ſhall undoubtedly retain it."

Mr. H. TOOKE.—Gentlemen, "The Admiral has undoubtedly ſaid nothing to you to-day that I can poſſibly contradict or reaſon upon. He has barely informed you, that your exertions have placed him at the head of the poll, and that the ſame exertions, continued in the ſame manner, will keep him there.

It has been uſed as a reproach to Mr. Fox and me, that we had united for the purpoſe of the preſent election: I wiſh that reproach had a better foundation. In one thing, however, we certainly are of a mind, and probably in many others, as I believe and truſt we are. But I think I riſk no contradiction from any quarter in ſaying, that we certainly agree in this—that the ſtinking rubbiſh of the preſent Adminiſtration muſt be removed, before the foundations can poſſibly be laid of a building which Freemen may inhabit with ſafety and comfort.

If the preſent election had been carried with a high hand againſt the Miniſter from its commencement, as if it ſhould ſtill (as it eaſily may) be carried with a high hand at the cloſe of the poll; I have no doubt but the preſent Adminiſtration would barely continue during the neceſſary interval for forming another.

I hope, Gentlemen, you will not be at all diſheartened by the numbers upon the poll, but that for your own honour you will remember the manner in which the horſe-dealer ties his horſes. Any ſorry jade will draw, if the carriage follows without much reſiſtance; but the experiment he makes is this—he ties his horſes to a tree, and when they find the tree does not follow, ſome of them, after hard ſtruggles, lie down in deſpair, and no laſhing can produce a freſh exertion. Theſe are jades. Other horſes ſtrive and ſtruggle, and ſtrain and drag, until the horſe dealer is contented and ſatisfied with their bottom.

Gentlemen—We are tied to a tree, the tree of corruption—and in this country its height and bulk and weight is indeed vaſt and enormous. The diſintereſted and generous exertions which you have already made in the courſe of this poll, have, I will venture to ſay, ſhaken it—Pull again—it will totter! and again, I ſay, Gentlemen, pull again, and it will tumble to the ground.

May I be permitted, Gentlemen, to direct your pull. The Electors of Weſtminſter do not want inclination to the public cauſe

cauſe of liberty in which we are engaged. They only require invitation. If every Gentleman who hears me this day, and is well affected to the ſame cauſe, will exert himſelf, and call upon, and bring up to the poll a willing Elector, the Miniſter's triumph will be of very ſhort duration, and we ſhall at once ſend the Admiral with glory and ſpirit back again to ſea."

NINTH DAY.—MONDAY, JUNE 6.

At the cloſe of the Poll this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox - - - - - - - - - - - -	2983
Sir Alan Gardner - - - - - -	2979
Mr. Tooke - - - - - - - - - - -	1913

Mr. Fox, after obſerving that he was at the head of the poll, proceeded as follows.

Gentlemen, it is impoſſible for me to expreſs my perſonal gratitude to you for your exertions and your kindneſs to me, ſtill leſs is it poſſible for any exertions of mine to deſcribe the advantages that may reſult to the country from the declared ſenſe of the city of Weſtminſter—the exertions which you have made, and the unequivocal declaration of your opinion, and all the circumſtances which have attended this Election, will, I truſt, have the influence which they ought to have on the general opinion of the people of Great Britain. When I ceaſe to deſpair of ſeeing the Conſtitution of this country what it was at the Revolution, for the people can never be enſlaved while they are true to themſelves; and indeed it is my opinion of the people of this country that they will be true to themſelves. I ſhould have long ceaſed to doubt of the ſpirit of the people of this country, if they all reſembled the Electors of the City of Weſtminſter—if they had; we ſhould not have ſeen the prolongation of this moſt odious and deteſtable war —if they had, we ſhould not ſee Scotch Judges preſuming to ſend men to Botany Bay for political opinion—if they had, we ſhould not ſee Adminiſtration, year after year, attacking the characters, the liberties, the lives of innocent men, for the mere purpoſe of gaining credit to pretended plots and ideal conſpiracies. In one word, if the people of Great Britain reſembled you, the people of Weſtminſter, we ſhould have a ſpeedy recovery of thoſe liberties which were ſo glorioufly earned by our anceſtors, but which the laſt Parliament baſely ſurrendered."

This ſpeech was received with rapture.

Sir Alan Gardner thanked the Electors for their exertions.

Mr. Tooke ſaid, "Gentlemen, I have more ſatisfaction from this day's poll than from all the days which are paſt: not becauſe I have polled a greater number of votes, but becauſe my poll continues ſteady. This poll ſhews a ſteady people, and the ſteadineſs of

of the people is of more conſequence than the gaining of any Election. You have this day thruſt down the Admiral one ſtep. The Admiral tells me that is a very ſmall ſtep:—it appears, therefore, he does not value very much in being the firſt in your eſteem. I truſt you will go on and give him an opportunity to ſhew the excellence of his temper by trying how he will bear to be put down the other ſtep.

The Admiral has ſaid nothing to you this day but to return you thanks, which he does not owe: for the numbers upon the poll are notoriouſly not given to Sir A. Gardner, but to Mr. Pitt, the Miniſter.

The Admiral told you the other day, (with what decorum you will conſider) that he ſhould much rather chuſe to be returned your Repreſentative in Parliament (which is merely a political ſituation) along with the Right Hon. Gentleman than with the other Candidate, altho' at the ſame time he declared that he diſliked the politics of that Right Hon. Gentleman. He did not, however, add a ſingle word of diſparagement of the other Candidate, whom he rejected for a Colleague—I do not think he can. But if he can, or if thoſe who ſent him can, I ſhould be glad to hear it; and I think, after ſuch a voluntary and uncalled-for declaration, he owes it in his own juſtification to you—In the mean time, I am left to find out the reaſon of his preference from the expreſſions which he has uſed. I am compelled to ſuppoſe, that the Baronet's reaſon is contained in the two words *Right Honourable*, for, with theſe words, he graced that Gentleman's name. A title before a name may be a very natural motive for a Baronet's preference in the choice of his colleague; but I will endeavour very ſhortly to convince you, that it would be a very bad motive for you in the choice of a Repreſentative, and I ſhall do it with the greater ſatisfaction to myſelf, becauſe Mr. Fox has a much better and a much more ſolid claim to your ſupport; I mean that very oppoſition to the Miniſter which the Baronet diſlikes.

In this country, if any of you have been at the parade, or at a review, you have ſeen the commanding officers ſtanding gallantly before their men (as the Candidates do here upon the Huſtings) and give the word of command *in front*; you are egregiouſly miſtaken if you ſuppoſe they do the ſame in the time of action. No, Gentlemen! they then give the word of command *from behind*. This will always be the practice in all other ſervices, as well as the military, as long as favour, and birth, and title, and parliamentary corruption, and money, promote men to ſuperior offices. The higher their ſtation, the ſafer in time of action will be their ſituation.—Now then, Gentlemen, look at the conduct of that enemy, from whom you may learn ſome other things more uſeful than the *Telegraph* which we have adopted.

With

With them ſuperior merit and bravery alone, promote their private men from the ranks, and place them in command, and even at the head of their armies. See the never failing conſequence of this practice in their laſt brilliant victory at Lodi, when a column of their braveſt grenadiers, were for a moment ſtopped; and heſitating at the furious cannonade of the Auſtrians, *ſix* of their generals ruſhed foremoſt at the head of the column, gave their command, and (what was better) their example *in front*, the victory immediately followed.

You, Gentlemen, the Electors of Weſtminſter, and all the other Electors throughout England, will do well to conſider and to aſk yourſelves theſe queſtions:—In our preſent cruel ſtruggle between liberty and ſlavery, who are the perſons ſtarving for want of bread?

To whom do the Miniſtry propoſe a ſubſtitute for bread?

Who are the perſons oppreſſed, beggarded, diſhonoured, vilified and ruined?

Who are languiſhing and rotting in their gaols? [*A voice from the crowd ſaid*, HORNE TOOKE]—It is true, I have been frequently in priſon, but at preſent I had forgotten myſelf, I was thinking only of you.

I wiſh you to conſider, who are ſentenced to be flogged to death; or are tortured (the cruelleſt of all torture) with putrid diſeaſes in their priſons?

Who are ſent as felons to Botany Bay? Who are caſt into dungeons, and treated and tried as traitors? [*Many perſons preſent exclaimed*, "THE PEOPLE."]

Gentlemen, you ſay true. It is ſo. It 'ſ we—We, the privates in the ranks.

Where were all this while our political Generals? Where were our Right Honourable and Honourable Repreſentatives? BEHIND, SAFE in the REAR, *repoſing on their beds of Penſion and Privilege.*

Gentlemen, Believe me, you cannot poſſibly have the ſmalleſt chance, you cannot reaſonably entertain even the ſmalleſt hope of ſucceſs, unleſs at your elections you paſs by theſe Lords and theſe Lordlings, the Barons and Baronets, and chuſe your Repreſentatives from amongſt the privates in the ranks."

TENTH DAY.—TUESDAY, JUNE 7.

At the close of the Poll this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox - - - - - - - - - - - -	3332
Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - - - - -	3321
Mr. TOOKE - - - - - - - - - - -	2078

Mr. Fox then addreſſed the Electors as follows:—

" Gentlemen, it is with great concern, I ſtate to you that a very unjuſtifiable attack has been made on the carriage of one of the Candidates at this election: all outrages are at all times in the higheſt degree reprehenſible; but at the time of a popular election, beſides the general breach of the law, it is an aggravated immorality by the violation of the freedom of election, which freedom is eſſential to the general intereſts of us all. I ſpoke yeſterday, and to-day I ſpeak with ſatisfaction on the ſpirit of the City of Weſtminſter; but I hope and truſt, that that ſpirit will be accompanied with an obedience to the law, and a due regard to good order. You cannot hope to recover your own liberties, unleſs you regard and reſpect the rights and liberties of others; the cauſe of liberty itſelf, ſacred as it is, can never be triumphant, unleſs the world ſhall ſee that thoſe who are attached to it, are attached alſo, to the ſupporters of, good order. I am ſure you all know that I give no ſupport to the gallant Admiral, as a Candidate for the City of Weſtminſter; but although I do not approve of him as a politician, it becomes me, and it becomes us all, to remember, that he is nevertheleſs a good private character, and a deſerving officer, and therefore ought not to be inſulted. But if he was the reverſe of this, an outrage upon him would be unjuſt to him and unjuſt to you. I am ſure you feel as I do upon this ſubject, and I hope and truſt that every man who feels a wiſh for the happineſs of this country, at any time, and eſpecially at this, that every man who wiſhes to ſhew his deteſtation of the conduct of our Adminiſtration—who is equally deſirous to recover the rights of the people, will accompany all his efforts to obtain this deſirable and good end, with a ſpirit that ſhews his love for good order and domeſtic peace. Having ſaid this, which appears to me, as I hope it appears to you, to be neceſſary, I ſhall now only add, that I return my thanks to thoſe who have made ſo good a ſtand for me, and by whom I am placed at the head of the poll; that there are yet remaining five days to poll, and that not more than one half of the electors have voted yet; that I deſire a continuance of your exertions in my favour, and that to retain your approbation is the firſt object of my wiſhes." This ſpeech was heard with the moſt reſpectful attention, and afterwards moſt warmly applauded.

Sir ALAN GARDNER addreſſed the Electors alſo:—" Gentlemen, I return you thanks for the ſupport you have given me this

this day; I hope you will continue that ſupport to the end of the poll. As to the treatment which I met with laſt night, you will excuſe me if I have not many words to utter on that occaſion. I hope that my character ſtands fair before you, and that there is not one man here who inſulted me laſt night. I have only to requeſt a continuance of your exertions in my favour, and I have no doubt I ſhall be returned to Parliament as one of your Repreſentatives."

Mr. TOOKE ſaid—" Gentlemen, I have heard with great concern, that an inſult was offered to Sir Alan Gardner laſt night. I am firmly perſuaded that ſuch an inſult was not offered to him by any perſons who have ſtood before theſe Huſtings during this Election. If I thought it was I ſhould ſcarcely truſt myſelf ever to open my lips here again—for I have ſpoken to inform you, but not to inflame you.

I am very much pleaſed that you have liſtened patiently to the Admiral this day. Had you not, it was certainly my determination to have troubled you no more; for it appears to me as diſhonourable to continue to deliver my ſentiments in oppoſition to thoſe of another Candidate, who is not permitted to ſpeak, as it would be to ſtrike a man whoſe hands were tied.

But, Gentlemen, as you have heard him with reſpect, and as I am perſuaded he will retire this night to his houſe as quietly as either of the other Candidates, I venture, for your information, to aſk him ſome queſtions, which I ſhould otherwiſe have ſuſpended. The Admiral can certainly give you information, which no other perſon here can.

The Admiral has ſolemnly pledged himſelf to you for two things. To vote for an *honourable* Peace when it can be obtained. [Mr. Tooke *here turned to the Admiral and aſked him whether it were ſo? The Admiral anſwered* " *Yes.*"] The Admiral does not retract, as I dare ſwear he never will any thing that he ſays. He confirms the pledge. He has likewiſe pledged himſelf to combat the domeſtic enemies of the country. He told you that he ſpoke to you as a ſeaman, which I ſuppoſe means with the ſincerity characteriſtic of the profeſſion. He would diſdain to make, or appear to make, in a ſolemn manner, an ambiguous or equivocal promiſe. I ſhall, by my queſtions, give him an opportunity to make it impoſſible for his moſt unjuſt and bittereſt enemies to ſuppoſe that he could do ſo.

An honourable Peace—What is an honourable Peace? By your hearing the Admiral patiently and ſilently, you will certainly know; and it is neceſſary that you ſhould know what it is he has promiſed, and for what he has ſolemnly pledged himſelf to you. Does the Admiral mean, as the Miniſter formerly told us, that in order to make it an honourable Peace, an indemnification

demnification will be neceſſary for all the lives which have been ſacrificed, and all the millions which have been ſquandered in this unjuſt, diſgraceful, and diſaſtrous War? I do not mean, without any deduction from the Pruſſian ſubſidy, or value received. I mean that part of it which was paid for the protection of Hanover, though for my own part I would not conſent to deduct a farthing for it.

Does he think it a neceſſary condition of an honourable peace, that deſpotiſm ſhould again be re-eſtabliſhed in France?—— [*Many of the people cried out*: *No! No!*]—Gentlemen, I beg you not to forget that I expect that anſwer from the Admiral, and not from you.

Does the Admiral think it a neceſſary condition, that the Stadtholder ſhould be reſtored to that deſpotiſm in Holland which he before obtained by the intrigues of our Miniſters, and the Pruſſian troops?

Does he think it neceſſary that the Emperor ſhould again be empowered, notwithſtanding our guarantee to the contrary, to pillage and enſlave Brabant and Flanders?

Does the Admiral think it a neceſſary condition, that no European power but ourſelves ſhould poſſeſs a foreign Colony?

Moſt probably the Admiral will not ſay that theſe are now the neceſſary conditions of an honourable Peace: for by this time they muſt have paſſed away even from the dreams of the Miniſter.

Perhaps on the contrary, the Admiral and the Miniſter may now tell us very reaſonably, and truly, that the honourableneſs of the conditions of a Peace depends upon the circumſtances and ſituation of the country which make it. Perhaps he will tell us, that Denmark acknowledges the French nation and Government—that Sweden acknowledges them—that Venice and Tuſcany, and Switzerland and Genoa, acknowledges them—that America not only acknowledges, but is united in the cloſeſt bonds of friendſhip with them; beſides our amiable allies of Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco.

Perhaps the Admiral will tell us, that Pruſſia has been pretty ſoundly beaten by them, and is now partly a defenſive ally; and partly, as far as the line of demarcation is concerned, and offenſive ally alſo. That Spain has been conquered by them, and is now in defenſive alliance with them, and without great care will ſoon be offenſive too. That the Italian dominions of the King of Sardinia have been conquered, and are now actually in their poſſeſſion, and the King himſelf at their feet. That Holland has been conquered by them, and is now eſtabliſhed a free and independent Republic. That the French are now in poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, and of moſt of the German Territories on this ſide of the Rhine.

He may tell you more, he may tell you, that a blacker cloud hangs over our head. He may, perhaps, tell you, that if by our great ſuperiority at ſea, we ſhould once convince the French, and all Europe, that they cannot poſſibly hold a ſingle Iſland in the Weſt Indies, or a ſingle eſtabliſhment in the Eaſt, they may probably change their plan, and convert it into a war of devaſtation, and effectually prevent us from having any benefit in thoſe foreign ſettlements in which we will not permit them to have any ſhare.

If he ſhould tell you all this, he will tell you nothing but the truth; and if he ſhould maturely reflect upon theſe things, he will probably, before he leaves you, change the terms of his promiſe and his pledge, and may think thoſe terms fit and honourable in our preſent ſituation, which would have been thought the baſeſt and moſt diſgraceful in any former ſituation which this country ever held, before they were curſed with the preſent incapable, tyrannical, and deteſtable Miniſtry.

He will, therefore, probably change the words of his promiſe, and pledge himſelf to vote for a ſpeedy and neceſſary Peace.

He will tell you his mind upon this to-morrow; he will explain to you what he meant by that honourable Peace, and if he ſhould not do it in words, his ſilence will explain itſelf.

ELEVENTH DAY.—WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8.

At the cloſe of the Poll this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox	3665
Sir ALAN GARDNER	3605
Mr. TOOKE	2215

Mr. Fox addreſſed the Electors in the following ſentence:—"Gentlemen, I hope you will ſhew by your exertions in my favour, that it is impoſſible for any friend of the preſent Miniſter, to maintain that you approve of a war that beggars you, and of bills that enſlave you." He was received with the uſual applauſe.

Sir ALAN GARDNER addreſſed the Electors.—All we could hear of the ſpeech of the gallant Admiral, was—"Gentlemen, I return you thanks for your exertions in my favour. I underſtood the Right Honourable Gentleman to expreſs his confidence, that he will be at the head of the poll, now I hope I ſhall be at the head of the poll to-morrow. When an honourable peace can be obtained I will vote for it. [Here there was much laughter among the multitude.] What I mean by an honourable peace, is a peace that this kingdom will not be aſhamed of—ſuch a peace, I hope you will all conſent to, and ſuch a peace I will conſent to. Gentlemen, I have no doubt I ſhall be at the head

of

of the Poll." This was followed by a mixture of applauſe and diſapprobation.

Mr. TOOKE ſaid—"Gentlemen, I have as much private and perſonal reſpect for Sir Alan Gardner, as I have for any Gentleman with whom I am as little acquainted; and yet, it was not for his ſake but for yours that I requeſted you to hear him patiently, and not to let him go away as great a ſtranger as he came. By ſtranger, I mean, that you ſhould be as little acquainted with his political ſentiments and principles, as you were the firſt day he ſet his foot upon the Huſtings.

You have heard him, and a moſt extraordinary explanation he has given of what he means by an honourable Peace—a Peace, of which we are not to be aſhamed. But would it not be well, if he could tell us of a War of which we ſhould not be aſhamed? But to know what he means by an honourable Peace, you muſt preſs him farther, for we know as little by his preſent explanation as we did before. Perhaps, ſo great is his attachment and opinion of his friend, that any Peace, or any War, will be honourable which the Miniſter ſhall approve.

Conſider that you will have no other opportunity of enquiring into the ſentiments of your Repreſentatives for ſix or ſeven years to come. For the Miniſter, as I take it, has ſent Sir Alan Gardner here upon this occaſion for two reaſons: the firſt, and as I ſuppoſe the chief reaſon, is, that he imagines he can rely upon his vote in the Houſe of Commons. The ſecond reaſon, is, that he is a profeſſional man. The Miniſter is very grateful to thoſe who vote as he would have them. Preferment out of a profeſſion always vacates a ſeat in Parliament, but profeſſional preferment does not. The Miniſter, therefore, chuſes a profeſſional man for his Candidate at Weſtminſter, kindly and genteelly towards you, merely to ſave you the trouble of repeated elections. The Miniſter, I have no doubt, would if he could, ſave you the trouble of having any election at all: he certainly takes as much care as he poſſibly can to prevent it. He proved it to you not long ago, when he made Lady Hood a Peereſs; [*Some perſons hiſſed, ſome ſhouted, ſome laughed.*] It is impoſſible for me to know whether the Gentlemen hiſs at the Peerage or at me. [*Numbers ſhouted "the Peerage, the Peerage."*] I beg not to be miſunderſtood, I mean to make no reflection on the Peerage; I ſay now, as I have ſaid before, that Lord Hood has not had half what he deſerves. I mention it only as an inſtance of the Miniſter's care to prevent your trouble; for when he had ſecured the Peerage to the family, he delayed the Patent to Lord Hood till the diſſolution of Parliament, in order to defeat your election of a new Repreſentative.

Gentlemen, on the ſame principle, if you ſhould, which, not-

withſtanding the numbers on the poll, I ſtill think you will not do; but if you ſhould return Sir Alan Gardner your repreſentative in Parliament, I much fear we ſhall loſe the benefit of his exertions in his firſt profeſſion againſt our foreign enemies. For I ſhould not wonder if the Miniſter ſhould be unwilling to truſt Sir Alan again to ſea, for fear ſome accident ſhould happen, to produce that which he diſlikes more than all other things, another Weſtminſter Election.

It is fortunate, however, for the Admiral, that he has taken up a new profeſſion, that of combating our domeſtic enemies. I call it a new profeſſion, becauſe it certainly never before was underſtood to make a part of the qualification of a ſeaman. I refer to the Admiral himſelf. I am ſure he will acknowledge, that when he was examined and paſt as a Lieutenant in the Navy, not one ſingle queſtion was put to him by the Board of Admiralty about the means of annoying domeſtic enemies. But this new profeſſion he has now taken up, he has pledged himſelf to combat the domeſtic enemies of the country. Surely, then, it is fair to aſk him to explain himſelf. Surely, it is fair to aſk him to point out theſe domeſtic enemies——it may be done in two words. He may tell us who they are, and with what weapons he means to combat them. None but the Admiral himſelf can tell. Perhaps when the Admiral talks of domeſtic enemies, he means me; perhaps he means you; perhaps the Electors of Weſtminſter who have ſupported me; perhaps he means all thoſe who are enemies to his friend the Miniſter. If he does ſo, that would be a large liſt indeed, for it would include all thoſe perſons who are the real and true friends of the country.

But I am not willing to give the Admiral too long a taſk at once, perhaps the length of what I ſaid yeſterday, may be the cauſe of the ſhortneſs of his anſwer to-day. Let him tell us firſt, who are our domeſtic enemies; let him ſatisfy us that he has not made a formal declaration of war againſt Falſtaff's men in Buckram, and in Kendal Green. The Admiral muſt have meditated deeply on this ſubject, he muſt have done ſo; it is impoſſible that he ſhould have raſhly diſhonoured his country by ſuppoſiug domeſtic enemies, unleſs he certainly knew that there were ſuch. Let him firſt then declare theſe enemies, and we will come to him for inſtructions how to combat them. We will fight againſt them under his ſtandard, under any ſtandard except the ſtandard of the preſent Miniſter: for *he* treacherouſly told us formerly, that the proprietors of boroughs were our domeſtic enemies; and afterwards, by the moſt atrocious means, he endeavoured to take away our lives for following his own inſtructions. They certainly were his own inſtruction, for

for I have them in his own hand-writing. And yet I ought to be cautious how I ſay *certainly*, for I have no better authority for it than the Miniſter's own oath in the late trials at the Old Bailey.

TWELFTH DAY.—THURSDAY, JUNE 9.

At the cloſe of the poll this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox - - - - - - - - - - - -	3961
Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - - - -	3884
Mr. TOOKE - - - - - - - - - -	2303

Mr. Fox addreſſed the electors to the following effect:

" Gentlemen, by your exertions I head the poll by the number of ſeventeen on this day's poll—I muſt deſire a continuance of your exertion in my favour. Gentlemen, as peace has been mentioned to you by the candidates, it is neceſſary for me to advert to it.—I am ſure I ſhall be conſidered by every one who hears me, not only an enemy to the preſent war now, but alſo to have been an enemy to it from the beginning, and I think I am entitled to ſay, that no man, in proportion to his abilities, has done more to prevent the horrors of the preſent war, and procure peace, than myſelf.—It gives me great ſatisfaction to find, that even Miniſterial Candidates in every part of this kingdom, think it neceſſary to have the word Peace in their mouths and in their advertiſements—this is a complete proof that Miniſters and their party know (but what they wiſh to conceal) that the opinion of the people of England is clearly againſt thoſe who carry it on. [No! No! ſaid a few; but Yes! Yes! Yes! was loudly uttered by the multitude.] I truſt that you and the other Electors of Great Britain have too much ſenſe to be gulled by general profeſſions of wiſhes for peace; but you ſhould aſk your Candidates what it is they will do to obtain peace?—They ſay they will approve of peace, but do they ſay they will compel Miniſters to do all they can to procure this peace?—Put them to the teſt upon this —The Miniſterial Candidates will find a difficulty in it; for get peace, and you will deſtroy the power of thoſe who are carrying on the war. Is there a man among you who believes—Is there a man any where in this kingdom, of any knowledge, who will pretend to believe, that the fall of the preſent Adminiſtration would not procure us peace? The teſt, therefore, to every Canditate ſhould be, " Whether he intends to ſupport the power, or to diminiſh the influence of the preſent Adminiſtration." Miniſters themſelves porſeſs a deſire for peace, and under that pretence, for it is nothing more, they have made a curious attempt at negociation. I need not tell you what they ſent to thoſe whom they do not allow to poſſeſs the direction of the government of France. Thoſe who look at the conduct of our Adminiſtration, and eſpecially

cially to the meſſage which I have juſt alluded to, muſt think in one of two ways—thoſe who think that Miniſters poſſeſs a good capacity, muſt be of opinion they are inſincere in their profeſſions for peace—thoſe who think they are ſincere muſt, by obſerving their conduct, be clearly of opinion againſt their capacity—I give Miniſters credit for neither the one nor the other, they have neither ſincerity, wiſh for, nor capacity to carry on a negociation. I truſt, therefore, when your Candidates talk of peace, and when you exact a promiſe from them to procure it, that you will not be content with their ſupporting the ſhadow of a negociation, but that you will exerciſe that which is your right, declare your abhorrence of the preſent war, and declare alſo, what is already indeed apparent to the world at large, declare the neceſſity for a ſpeedy peace. Indeed the paſt negociation, if negociation it can be called, or whatever elſe it can be ſaid to be, has ſhewn that Miniſters, if they wiſhed it, are as incapable of carrying on the negociation, as they have proved themſelves to be in carrying on the war. If theſe opinions are founded in reaſon, I truſt you will ſhew you have not that ſort of idea of peace which the Miniſterial Candidates have, but that you will, by your votes for me, ſhew that peace is the firſt object of your choice; this appears to me to be extremely material for you to ſhew, as it is material for every part of the kingdom to ſhew. I have oppoſed the war from its commencement, and I may ſay that you feel I have acted as an honeſt man by ſo doing. I think I may ſay too, without arrogance, I have acted with ſomething more of wiſdom than thoſe who have conducted the war. This you will ſhew by ſupporting me. I believe I ſpeak within compaſs when I ſay there are ſtill 5000 Electors of Weſtminſter who have not polled at this Election. Thoſe who approve of my conduct I hope will come forward and teſtify it by their votes. It is neceſſary you ſhould diſtinctly and unequivocally declare your ſentiments on this extraordinary criſis of our affairs."—This ſpeech was very much applauded.

Sir ALAN GARDNER then addreſſed the Electors; but it is impoſſible to report all he ſaid, for the multitude were unfavorable to hearing him, as uſual. We collected, however, what follows:

"Gentlemen, on this day's poll I am ſeventeen below the Right Honourable Gentleman. But as I told you before, I am not diſmayed at being ſeventeen below; to-morrow, I hope I ſhall be placed in a very different ſituation. [This produced a great laugh.] I have been told a great deal by one of your Candidates about my being determined to oppoſe our internal enemies; I hope it is not neceſſary for me to acquaint you again that I am a friend to the King and a friend to the Conſtitution of this country:

try: I hope there is not a man of you preſent who is of a different opinion. I thought it alſo neceſſary to inform you that I will ſtand againſt, and am determined to counteract the enemies of the Conſtitution, whether foreign or domeſtic. I happened to be born before the rebellion of 1745; I remember that rebellion; it made a very deep impreſſion on my mind. I deteſt rebellion. I deteſt inſurrection. I deteſt every thing—[*as we deteſt you*, was uttered from the croud] ſeditious. Theſe are your enemies. I am perſuaded there is not a man in this great multitude that comes under this deſcription. I am not accuſtomed to ſpeak in public, nor am I maſter of that eloquence which the other Candidates poſſeſs; I can only ſay I preſent myſelf to you as an honeſt man. Let me ſolicit you in the ſtrongeſt manner I can, to continue your exertions in my favour: nothing will give me ſo much ſatisfaction. Nothing will gratify me ſo much as to be at the head of the poll." This ſpeech was received like moſt of this Gentleman's ſpeeches on the huſtings, with a mixture of applauſe and diſapprobation—a vaſt majority of the multitude againſt it.

Mr. TOOKE ſaid, "Gentlemen, You have with great propriety liſtened patiently to the Admiral this day, and I think in ſome meaſure you have been paid for it. You ſee it is very plain that he does not want words, and it is very plain to me that he does not want matter. The only difficulty which he appears to me to labour under, ſprings not from himſelf, but from another. He is reſtrained, he *muſt not let out too much!!* As he explained to you what he meant by an "honourable PEACE," ſo has he explained what he meant by "*domeſtic* ENEMIES!!"

Gentlemen, I have diſcovered who are the domeſtic enemies—you may diſcover it not from their words, but from the *practice of the Miniſter* and his followers. You know that diſciplined armies are not permitted to plunder and pillage their friends. Thoſe are the enemies from whom *they take the booty.*

Gentlemen, a NATION that has been thus treated as this has been, has a right to demand two things—*ſecurity for the future*, and JUSTICE for the paſt!!! One of the Candidates, Mr. Fox, by his declarations to you from the Huſtings, has given you full reaſon to be ſatisfied that he will exert his utmoſt endeavours to obtain them both for you. For my own part, for all that is perſonal to myſelf, I ſhould be well contented to let the DELINQUENTS GO FREE, provided we could obtain ſecurity for the RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE in future. The *other Candidate* has given you *no reaſon* to *expect his aſſiſtance* in obtaining either. He is looking anxiouſly forward to that *honourable* PEACE, of which neither he nor you, nor the Miniſter will be aſhamed. The MINISTER, aſhamed of the peace!! Who has *not* been *aſhamed* of the War!!!

The

The Admiral ſorrowfully told you he might be reduced to *half-pay:* and, that in caſe of ſuch an event, his MAJOR-GENERALSHIP of the MARINES would not be worth more to him than about SIX HUNDRED POUNDS A YEAR!!!—[*Great ſhoutings and interruptions for ſome time*]—Gentlemen, I am frequently compelled, perhaps from the improper manner in which I expreſs myſelf, to requeſt you not to miſunderſtand my words. The GENERAL, *I mean the Admiral*, though indeed I might call him either, for he is both!! [*again ſhouting and interruption*] I do not mean to caſt the ſlighteſt imputation upon the *reward he has received!!!* Before God, I think he deſerves double. But the Admiral did not, as I wiſh he had, he did not ſeem to caſt *a thought*, at leaſt he did *not utter a word* concerning thoſe *other gallant Officers* in the ſervice, who, with an equal claim with himſelf to reward, will be reduced as well as himſelf to half pay, and have *no friend* in the Miniſter to make them alſo *Generals of Marines*. Another conſideration affects me much more ſtrongly; if there are to be *ſham* Generals and *ſham* Colonels of Marines for the Officers, why are there not *ſham* marines for the PRIVATE men? However, Gentlemen, theſe neglected Officers and privates will certainly have *one reſource* left. They, too, may take up the *new* profeſſion againſt the *domeſtic* enemies!!! and it would not be wonderful if they all did.

The ſea ſervice is not a very active one, compared to this new ſervice. Few Admirals, however fortunate, can expect to be in more than five or ſix brilliant actions in the courſe of their lives. The Admiral has been in ſome. I mean to do him juſtice. But look at the other profeſſion; ſee the difference of the activity and the difference of *the booty*. I will give you an inſtance of it. I mean that of Mr. WILLIAM GRENVILLE, now Lord GRENVILLE. I think *he* commenced his political warfare againſt *domeſtic* enemies, in the office of Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and he continued in that ſituation long enough to gain and take from *the enemy*, one or two very comfortable reverſions.

But, Gentlemen, this was *only ſkirmiſhing* in Ireland,—and, therefore, very fortunately for us, I mean very fortunately *for him* (one is very apt to make thoſe miſtakes in ſpeaking,) I ſay, very fortunately for him, he came over to us in England to join the *main battle*, againſt *the foe*. He had ſcarce put his foot in the country when he attacked, not a very ſtrong poſt, I mean, a ſeat at the *Treaſury* Board, and that produced him 1600l. *a year*. [Many of the people cried "*What, no more?*"] You ſay, "*What no, more?*" HE ſaid, "*the ſame!!!*" However, he was ſcarcely warm in his ſeat, than he was again *in action*, and was quickly made *Paymaſter General of the forces*.

This brought him 2000l. a year! But ſtill his mind ran more upon

upon receipt than payment—he ſoon quitted that ſtation to become *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons*, and that place is worth 600l. a year!!! You think now, perhaps, that I have finiſhed the liſt of *his exploits*. Nothing like it! The *wig* of the *Speaker* was ſcarcely *fitted to his head*, when he became Secretary of State and Cabinet Counſellor. [Many cried "*what is that worth?*" what is *that worth?*"] Why, it is worth, beſides the ſalary, juſt as much as the conſcience of the poſſeſſor will let him make of it. But his activity in theſe hoſtilities does not ſtop here. He is quickly made a PEER! [Numbers cried out *what is that? what is that?*"] Why I ſhould have more difficulty to anſwer that queſtion than any other. But his duty in the Houſe, as a Peer of the Realm, and his employment as a Cabinet Counſellor, and the buſineſs of his office as ſecretary of State, were not enough for his *active* ſpirit. He had ſtill time left for FARTHER HOSTILITIES, and he was made RANGER of both the Parks. This brought him 2 or 3000l. a year. But all this would not do! He puſhed on and attacked an old diſmantled fortification, (many of their guns were diſmounted,) but ſtill it ſhewed, a formidable face to *the enemy!* He attacked it gallantly and *took* it! He was made *Auditor of the Exchequer!* And this produces to him, I believe, 7000l. a year more! —Perhaps you will aſk me, *When he will think he has enough?* I can tell you *to a farthing*. As ſoon as he is in poſſeſſion of the utmoſt farthing *he can get!*

Now, Gentlemen, there is ſomething very ſtrange, very extraordinary, which ought to be noticed that in all theſe active ſervices and in all theſe *hardſhips* which he has gone through, this Gentleman was never once known, at leaſt as far as I have ever heard, he was never known once to complain for *want of bread:* no, nor of *the dearneſs* of bread, nor of any *other preſſure* which we all of us feel from our TAXES and other BURDENS!!! He had *found a ſubſtitute!* This is one of thoſe wiſe ſtateſmen of this great nation, who entered into a ſolemn league and covenant, into a ſolemn compact and agreement with each other, that they would not, for ſeveral months to come, touch either PUDDING OR PIE!!! They propoſed alſo a ſubſtitute for you. They did not indeed ſay what it ſhould be, but theſe Miniſterial Gentlemen are always very ſhy in explaining the terms and words which they make uſe of upon theſe occaſions. You may have ſeen how it is here, when we puſh them to explain the *meaning* of their words, they are as ſilent as dead men. There is a ſaying indeed, that "dead men tell no tales;" but that is not true in political matters, for in them it ſeems that dead men only tell tales.

The famous hiſtorian, Mr. GIBBON, lately departed, has left a written account of *his* campaigns againſt the *domeſtic* enemy, and he explains the terms he uſes as he goes. *He too* was for one Par-

liament in the Houſe of Commons; he too declared that he had a *friendſhip for the Miniſter*, and he explained the term. By "friendſhip for the Miniſter," he means he *voted with him* upon *every queſtion*. The Miniſter had likewiſe a friendſhip for him, and he explains what that meant. No bribery nor corruption—nothing of the kind. The Miniſter gave to him what the terms "a *convenient ſalary*" of 850l. a year. Whilſt Mr. GIBBON held this poſt, the *domeſtic enemy* attacked it, the Miniſter's troops were diſcomfited, and Mr. GIBBON loſt the convenient ſalary!—What ſhould he do now? *Gratitude*, he ſays, made them join *another ſet of Miniſters*. He explains the term *gratitude* which he uſes here to mean the expectation he had of a *thouſand* a year from them as Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms. Well! He fought with them under their banners, and they conquered: but then he complains that they did him great injuſtice; but he explains what he means here by injuſtice, and his explanation will make it unneceſſary for me to explain any further; theſe are literally his words, "My VOTE," ſays he, "was counted in the day of *battle*; but I was *overlooked* in the DIVISION of the SPOIL!!!"

THIRTEENTH DAY.—FRIDAY, JUNE 10.

At the cloſe of the Poll this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. FOX - - - - - - - - - -	4233
Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - - - -	4174
Mr. TOOKE - - - - - - - - - -	2407

Mr. FOX then addreſſed the electors very ſhortly, in which he obſerved that Sir Alan Gardner had polled more than him in the courſe of the day by the number of 18 votes. He obſerved, that there were two more following days, and that he believed there were near five thouſand electors yet who had not polled. He was applauded, as uſual.

Sir ALAN GARDNER addreſſed the electors, "I am at the head of this day's poll by the number of 18. The Right Honourable Gentleman thinks he will head me at the final cloſe of the poll—I think very differently—I hope and truſt that, by a continuance of your exertions, by your partiality, by your love for me [this produced a mixture of applauſe and diſapprobation, and the Admiral being urged by his friends to proceed, quaintly told them, "I ſhall ſay no more."]

Mr. TOOKE ſaid, "Gentlemen, the Admiral bids me go on, for he ſhall ſay no more. He ſtopped at the word LOVE. You ſee how unfortunate he is in his amours. No wonder, Gentlemen, he told you yeſterday that he remembered the grand rebellion in 45. But, Gentlemen, you hear every day from the other two Candidates, that the one or the other is at the head of the poll.

poll. I am afraid they may give you the change, and make you forget there is any other ſtruggle here, than which of theſe two ſhould be at the head of the poll. I have never troubled you with the ſtate of the poll, and yet, I have every day examined it. And ſince we are to talk of the poll, I will endeavour to make you underſtand it. I would not have you be diſcouraged at the numbers you ſee upon the board. In what I am going to ſay, I beg you not to ſuppoſe that I am ironical. I really am well contented with the ſtate of the poll. And when I ſay I am well contented, I mean that the public has reaſon to be well contented, for I am out of the queſtion, it is their election, not mine. It is of ſome conſequence that you ſhould underſtand this poll. To underſtand it, it muſt be diſſected. I have diſſected it daily.

At the cloſe of the poll yeſterday it ſtood thus. Mr. Fox's votes are three ſorts.

Votes for Fox and GARDNER	— —	1663
For Fox and TOOKE	— —	1572
Single Vote for Fox only	— —	726
Total	—	3961

To judge of this poll you muſt conſider the ſorts of votes. Becauſe we muſt not diſſemble, we muſt do juſtice to the devil. In order to eſtimate between the Public and the Miniſter, we muſt conſiſter the influence which produced the votes. Theſe votes for Fox and Gardner I attribute to the Miniſter's influence. I cannot ſuppoſe that any of the perſonal friends of Mr. Fox, or of his politics, could have polled ſo unnaturally. I ſuppoſe theſe 1663 votes to have been given to Mr. Fox by the Miniſter. I ſtated to you in the beginning of this election, that I had the honour to be the Candidate moſt hated by the Miniſter, and for this there are many reaſons. Amongſt others you know that the degree of perſonal malice which one man entertains againſt another, is not in proportion to the injuries received, but to the injuries done. The Miniſter has not yet attempted to murder the Right Honourable Gentleman, but he has attempted to murder me.— This then, Gentlemen, is one reaſonable ground for my ſuppoſition. Beſides, this my ſtatement, the Admiral, who is the Miniſter's repreſentative here, confirmed: for he told you in ſo many words, that he ſhould chuſe to be returned your Repreſentative in Parliament with the Right Hon. Gentleman, rather than with me. Suppoſing, therefore, that theſe double votes for Fox and Gardner are to be attributed to the Miniſter's influence, I deduct them from Mr. Fox's poll, and with that deduction his poll will amount to 2298. I had polled laſt night 2303. I therefore eſtimate, that I had then polled 5 votes more than Mr. Fox. But I ought not to ſay that I have polled, but that the public have

polled.—Now I reaſon thus; if the Electors of Weſtminſter, notwithſtanding the long friendſhip they have had for Mr. Fox, and their long acquaintance, have polled thus upon this occaſion, they have done it from a juſt perſuaſion that their own lives are at ſtake in the preſent ſtruggle; for if the Miniſter can murder ſmall men in the manner he has attempted, he will ſoon be able to murder the great. This poll, therefore, ſprings from no diſſatisfaction with Mr. Fox, but from your compaſſion for me, and your indignation at the attempt againſt me.

Let us now examine the Miniſter's votes; I ſay the Miniſter's, for Sir Alan is entirely out of the queſtion. He will not be diſpleaſed with me in ſaying ſo. You may depend upon it, his vanity is not at all increaſed by this poll—he knows it is the Miniſter's, not his, and he wiſhes the Miniſter to have the full honour of it.

The Miniſter has polled 3884, his numbers are, Fox and Gardner 1663, Gardner and Tooke 15, ſingle votes for Gardner 2206. [*Great ſhoutings by the Miniſter's friends.*] There is no mighty occaſion for exultation at the numbers, for he might have had the 1663 as ſingle votes into the bargain.

The fifteen votes for Tooke and Gardner, [Numbers cried out, *Give them to him, Give them to him.*] No, I cannot ſpare to the Admiral theſe fifteen votes, as many of you would have me. It is ſo extremely unnatural a poll that I think it is eaſily accounted for. Certainly they did not vote for the Admiral by my influence; and as certainly they did not vote for me by the Admiral's influence. Why, then, it evidently muſt have been thus; theſe are men whoſe principles and heart inclined them to the public cauſe, but they muſt have been under ſome commanding influence which they could not refuſe, and muſt have ſaid, when applied to, as has often been the caſe, ſince you will have it ſo, I will give one vote according to your deſire, and the other according to my own inclination. I deduct, therefore, theſe fifteen from the Admiral's poll, and then his numbers will ſtand 3869. From my own poll of 2303, I believe you will agree with me that I need not deduct any. I have no perſonal connections, I have no perſonal influence, I have no money.

What Mr. Fox has told you concerning the declaration of the public opinion, by the numbers on the poll, is of ſome importance; and yet I hope not of ſo great importance as ſome may imagine. If it is of importance that he ſhould be at the head of the poll, you muſt well beſtir yourſelves, for the Miniſter is at preſent at leaſt 1500 before him—but do not be diſcouraged; and, if it is poſſible, put Mr. Fox at the head of the poll, in ſpite of the Miniſter's 1500. Though I confeſs I think that the public, in fair reaſoning, have already declared themſelves abundantly. For

when

when you conſider that, in the Miniſter's poll, the Judges have voted—the Maſters in Chancery have voted—the King's Meſſengers, his footmen, his ſcullions, and all that are dependent upon the Admiralty, and all the other Boards—Officers in the Cuſtoms and Exciſe, and others who have no right to vote; you will ſee, when all theſe come to be deducted, what a thin, meagre, wretched ſkeleton the Miniſter's poll will make.

It is impoſſible to form a preciſe judgment of this poll until it is finally cloſed. This I can certainly ſay, that I have not, for my own part, yet polled one third of thoſe who have declared themſelves in my favour. At the cloſe of the poll I certainly mean to diſſect the whole of it, and if it ſhall appear likely to be uſeful to the public, I will give it to you, not by word of mouth indeed, for I muſt not, until another election, talk to more than 50 people together without the interference of a Juſtice of Peace, but for your information I will print it.

I fear I have detained you too long. I ſhall add but one word more. Whilſt I was addreſſing you yeſterday, the Admiral made (what I wiſh he would more often make) an obſervation upon what I was ſaying to you. I was giving you an account, merely as a ſample of the reſt of the graſping greedineſs and public plunder of Lord Grenville, the Admiral ſaid, he did not ſee what this had to do with the electors. I know it is a ſore place, and and for that reaſon I touched it. Now I think it had much to do with the Election and with the public, and ought to influence materially the conduct of the Electors. It is of the utmoſt conſequence to them, and if I had time, here upon the Huſtings, I would inform them through what pockets all their enormous taxes flow.

The Admiral ſurely knows of what conſequence it often is to find out a leak at ſea. I have found out the PUBLIC LEAK, not where it *runs in*, but where it *runs out*, and the conſideration and importance of it ought to direct your votes; for if you return the Admiral to Parliament, he has not undertaken, and he will not undertake, to purſue any meaſures to ſtop this ruinous leak; but if you return me to Parliament, I certainly will either ſtop that leak, or die in attempting it."

FOURTEENTH DAY.—SATURDAY, JUNE 11.

At the cloſe of the Poll this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox - - - - - - - - - -	4625
Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - - - -	4486
Mr. TOOKE - - - - - - - - -	2560

Mr. Fox. "Gentlemen, I have very great ſatisfaction in informing you, that the majority of votes in my favour, on this day's poll,

poll, is ſuch as to place me further above the Admiral than at any preceding ſtage of the Election: a circumſtance for which I feel the higheſt gratitude. I beg you, however, to continue your exertions in my behalf on Monday, that at the cloſe of the Poll the ſenſe of the People of Weſtminſter may be ſtill more diſtinctly made known with reſpect to the meaſures of Government.—Gentlemen, it has been obſerved, that my remarks on the ſtate of the poll have been confined to a compariſon with that Candidate, whoſe numbers come neareſt to my own. They have been ſo for this reaſon—becauſe ſtanding, according to my original declaration, totally unconnected with any other Candidate, it appeared to be moſt important to direct your attention to this competition only: and, indeed, another reaſon for my conduct in this particular is, that the ſuperiority of my poll over the Miniſterial Candidate, is that which appears of moſt conſequence to the public cauſe. At the ſame time, though it is not my intention to enter into any particular diſſection of the poll, I cannot entirely acquieſce with the ſtatement made by one of the Candidates on the preceding day. Part of the facts may be as Mr. Tooke then ſtated them; but ſurely, the more fair way of ſtating the public ſentiments of Weſtminſter, is to take all that have voted for Mr. Tooke, and add to them the votes that have been ſeparately polled for me, or all that have polled for me, and add to them the ſeparate votes for Mr. Tooke, and ſo many perſons will moſt certainly be admitted to have expreſſed their decided reprobation of the preſent War, and the recent Bills infringing on their conſtitutional liberties. And if from the poll of the Miniſterial Candidate, were to be deducted all thoſe placemen, penſioners, and dependants, who, in any juſt ſenſe of election, had no right to vote at all, it would be evident that there is a majority, not of a few hundreds only, but of ſome thouſands of independent Electors, averſe to the deſtructive meaſures of Government.

It has been ſaid of the 1663 double votes, that appear upon the books for myſelf and Admiral Gardner, that they were given to me by the Miniſter. If this indeed be ſo, it certainly cannot be ſaid that the line of conduct I have purſued, either during the Election or before it, has entitled me to ſuch favour; and if it has been conferred, I muſt be accounted very ungrateful, for I aſſure you I do not thank the Miniſter for his favour. But it muſt be remembered, and perhaps lamented, that in this, as in all Elections, many perſons are in the habit of giving their votes merely from circumſtances of perſonal attachment, without any reference whatever to the enlarged views of political principle. Beſides, may not the motives which Mr. Tooke aſſigned to the fifteen who had voted for him and Admiral Gardner, be applicable alſo, in ſome degree, to me; and if thoſe fifteen are to be regarded as having given

given their firſt votes from compulſion, and their ſecond from conſcience, may not ſome hundreds at leaſt of thoſe 1663 have been under the ſame circumſtances; and having given one vote to the Miniſterial Candidate from compulſion, have conſcientiouſly given me their ſecond. It is true, however, that Sir Alan Gardner has ſaid that he would rather wiſh to be returned with me than with the other Candidate. What reaſon the Miniſter may have for this preference, it is impoſſible for me to ſay. Perhaps he was deſirous of directing his attack where he thought he had the beſt proſpect of ſucceſs. But if we are to judge from the iſſue of his calculations, very little is to be concluded from his judgment in this particular. And now, Gentlemen, as Monday is the laſt day of Poll, and as I have learned from experience the little probability there is of having an opportunity of addreſſing you after the Poll has cloſed, I ſhall take the preſent opportunity of delivering my ſentiments more at large upon ſubjects of ſome conſiderable importance, than I have hitherto done during the Election, Gentlemen, the late proceedings of Government are freſh in the remembrance of all: and I will venture to ſay, that an adminiſtration more corrupt and more deſtructive of the happineſs and proſperity of the world, of the peace of Europe, and the liberties of mankind, has never exiſted in this country ſince England was a nation. With religion and humanity perpetually in their mouths, they have deſtroyed more of God's creatures, and ſhed more Chriſtian blood, than any Tyrant of Government in Europe. They have waſted more treaſure, and ſpilt more blood, than any of the moſt famous Conquerors of antiquity, and they have loſt more territory than any of thoſe Conquerors ever gained. At home, indeed, with the ſolitary exception of one of their own Spies, they have not as yet been able to ſhed any blood by their perſecutions; but it has not been for want of inclination; as is ſufficiently evident from their repeated attempts. One of the Candidates has already told you that they have made a moſt illegal attempt upon his life; they certainly did ſo; and upon the lives of ſeveral other innocent perſons beſides. But I appeal even to theſe perſecuted Gentlemen whether they themſelves could have expreſſed a more decided reprobation of the illegality and ſcandalous injuſtice of thoſe proſecutions than I have always done. In defiance of all law, and all principles of humanity, which ought to influence the conduct of thoſe who have the adminiſtration of juſtice; they have alſo ſent innocent men to Botany Bay, like felons, after a Trial, the conduct of which excites indignation in the breaſt of every man to whom the cauſe of Juſtice, and the Liberty of Mankind is dear.—Since that time they have alſo paſſed two bills, creating new crimes, and repealing the Bill of Rights in its moſt eſſential clauſes. By one of thoſe Bills, Popular

Aſſemblies

Aſſemblies of more than fifty perſons, under certain circumſtances, have been prohibited.—[*Here a great clamour was made by Sir* THOMAS TURTON *and ſome others ſaying upon the Huſtings, No! No!" and one of them, reciting out ſome Latin verſes.*] By this Act, Gentlemen, you are not, however, abſolutely forbidden to aſſemble; you are only ſubjected to diſperſion by the Magiſtrate at his diſcretion, if he conſiders the proceedings as improper.—I adviſe you, however, to meet.——[*Great burſts of applauſe and a general ſhouts "We will! we will!"*]—Meet, Gentlemen, I conjure you, whenever a juſt ſenſe of your grievances calls upon you ſo to do! Depart yourſelves with diſcretion when you have met, and let it be ſeen whether they dare to *abuſe* the power veſted in them by this new law, the act is made not againſt peaceable, but againſt ſeditious aſſemblies. Meet, therefore, and ſeek a redreſs of your grievances, but obey the laws; obey even the laws of which we have ſo much reaſon to complain. Obeying theſe, maintain, however, your rights, and be not intimidated by a vague and diſcretionary power, for the exerciſe of which the Magiſtrates muſt be reſponſible.—Gentlemen, Miniſters are very fond of charging us for uſing inflammatory language; but if they reduce the country to ſuch a ſituation that to ſpeak the truth is to enflame, the fault is with them, not with us. I do not wiſh to enflame the Public Mind; but I wiſh the Public to be informed; and it is the buſineſs of our accuſers to take care that a knowledge of the truth ſhould not be dangerous to them.

To ſum up my opinion, Gentlemen, of the preſent Government, in two words—they have ſhed more blood in Foreign Wars than Louis the XIVth. and attempted the lives of more innocent men at home than Henry the VIIIth.

Admiral GARDENER.—Gentlemen, I return you thanks for your exertions in my favour. Whether I am placed firſt or ſecond on the Poll, I am perfectly ſatisfied of the obligations I owe to you for putting me there.

Mr. TOOKE ſaid,—"Gentlemen, It appears to me, almoſt unneceſſary to utter one word, after what Mr. Fox has ſaid.

I am willing to concur in the ſtatement of the Poll which he has given; nor am I diſpoſed to conteſt any thing with a man who has ſpoken as he has now done.

This poll is now drawing towards a cloſe and this will probably be the laſt opportunity I ſhall have of addreſſing you. Monday will be a buſy day. I will not tire you with thanks for the great favour and indulgence which I have experienced from you. I beg only to aſſure you, that no man alive feels the inſults of enemies leſs, or the kindneſs of friends more.—If God ſhall be pleaſed to protect my life from diſeaſe, and from the putrid dungeons

dungeons of tyrannical and ſanguinary Miniſters whatever may be the final event of this Poll, I will certainly meet you here again upon the firſt vacancy.

Gentlemen, Miniſters have dared to commence the reign of terror in this land. I draw therefore the conſequence from what Mr. Fox has ſaid to you. Two objects alone ſhall engage the remainder of my life: to obtain for the people, what they have a RIGHT TO DEMAND and MUST SOON *have, Security for the future, and Juſtice for the paſt.*

FIFTEENTH DAY.—MONDAY, JUNE 13.

At the final cloſe of the Poll this day, the numbers were—

For Mr. Fox - - - - - - - - - - - -	5160
Sir ALAN GARDNER - - - - - - - -	4810
Mr. TOOKE - - - - - - - - - -	2819

The Deputy High Bailiff then proclaimed the return, whereby he ſtated that Mr. Fox and Sir Alan Gardner were duly elected.

The burſt of applauſe from the multitude on hearing Mr. Fox declared ſo decidedly at the head of the poll, filled the air, and communicated the tidings to every part of Weſtminſter. The Committee of Sir Alan Gardner had publiſhed a hand-bill, which ſtated, that "wiſhing to avoid any ſtep that might tend to irritate "the minds of the people, and endanger the tranquillity of the "City of Weſtminſter—they requeſted their friends not to chair the Admiral." Mr. Tooke was not preſent. As ſoon as the numbers were declared, Mr. Fox returned thanks in a few words for the kind partiality of the Electors; their impatience for his triumph made it impoſſible to ſay much; he was hurried into the Car, and preceded by a band of muſic, and a number of flags, with appropriate inſcriptions, the firſt of which was—"Fox and Peace!" He was carried by his friends in civic triumph round the Garden, along the Strand, and Pall Mall, up to Devonſhire Houſe, where he was received by the lovely Ducheſs, &c. with the warm welcome of heart-felt joy. Here Mr. Fox again returned to the numerous body of the people by whom he had been accompanied, and requeſted them to ſeparate quietly, that their enemies might not take advantage of the ardour of their exultation, and diſturb the tranquillity of the city, that it might be attributed to them. From Devonſhire Houſe Mr. Fox came to the Shakeſpeare in his carriage. In their progreſs through the ſtreets, the multitude paid the moſt loud and grateful tribute of reſpect at Northumberland Houſe, Norfolk Houſe, and other places where the exalted owners had diſtinguiſhed themſelves as enemies to the preſent mad career of war and taxes, and had uſed their

princely fortunes, at a moment of ſcarcity, in aſſuaging the ſufferings of the poor.

Mr. Fox was received at the Shakeſpeare with rapture, where he dined with his friends. Every room was crouded His health being drank after dinner, he addreſſed the company in a ſpeech which took a view of the whole of his political life, and the motives of his actions in the courſe of it, which pleaſed the company ſo highly that his health was drank with three times three, and all the fervor which the Electors of Weſtminſter have felt, and at every moment of exigency manifeſted, for the perſon they moſt eſteem, was diſplayed in every face.

Many conſtitutional toaſts were drank, and the worthy Candidates who are now ſtruggling againſt the corruption of the Treaſury, particularly the virtuous and tried Mr. Honeywood in Kent, were remembered with affection.

The Duke of Norfolk, after his health was drank, returned his moſt hearty thanks to the meeting for the honour they had done him, and mentioned the public ſpirit of the County of Hereford in chuſing Mr Biddulph, in conſequence of the apoſtacy from the Whig intereſt, which had been manifeſted.

Mr. Biddulph, in a handſome ſpeech, thanked the meeting for their kindneſs in drinking his health, and declared his determination to perſevere in the cauſe of liberty, and in oppoſition to the preſent ruinous war.

Captain Morris contributed to the conviviality of the occaſion, by ſinging a ſong by way of triumph, appropriate to the occaſion, and ſeveral other new ſongs.

A great many appropriate Toaſts were given; and the meeting broke up in the greateſt good humour.

On Tueſday, June 14, the following Advertiſements appeared.

TO THE WORTHY AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

Gentlemen,

THE generous and diſintereſted exertions by which you have ſo honourably placed me at the head of the Poll, call for my warmeſt acknowledgments.

The conſtancy with which you have perſevered, and, in various circumſtances, repeatedly exhibited your partial attachment to me, fills me with pride and gratitude.

But the unanſwerable proofs that in the courſe of this Election have appeared of your ſentiments upon thoſe points, which have of late been the ſubjects of political diſpute, afford me a ſatisfaction of a ſtill higher nature.

I ſee,

I ſee, with pleaſure and triumph, that thoſe harſh laws and odious proſecutions which, together with other meaſures of a ſimilar tendency, were framed, and carried on for the purpoſe of ſubduing the ſpirit of the People, have, in this City at leaſt, failed of their effect.

While this ſpirit remains unbroken, every thing is to be hoped. The moſt ingenious tyranny has never been able to deviſe means of preventing a ſpirited People from declaring their ſentiments.

The ſenſe of ſuch a People, when legally and reſolutely pronounced, muſt be obeyed. And if our countrymen, in the more diſtant parts of the kingdom, think, ſpeak, and act, like the Citizens of Weſtminſter, I will venture to predict that it will not be long before it is in the power of the true Friends to the Conſtitution to reſtore peace to Europe, and liberty to Great Britain.

I am, Gentlemen, your moſt obliged,
And grateful humble Servant,
C. J. FOX.

South Street, June 13, 1796.

TO THE WORTHY AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE CITY AND LIBERTIES OF WESTMINSTER.

Gentlemen,

PERMIT me, with heart-felt gratitude, to offer you my ſincere acknowledgments for the very liberal ſupport I have received during the Election, and, as far as words can expreſs my feelings, to return you my unfeigned thanks for the very diſtinguiſhed and honourable ſituation in which you have placed me.

This mark of your favour, Gentlemen, is the more gratifying to me, as a proof of your partiality towards an honourable profeſſion, to which I am proud of having devoted the whole of my life; and I doubt not it muſt give pleaſure to all true friends of their Country, to obſerve your deciſive approbation of thoſe principles which I have repeatedly and unequivocally avowed, by declaring myſelf a firm and zealous ſupporter of our King and Conſtitution; and I am happy once more to take an opportunity of pledging myſelf to perſevere in thoſe principles to the lateſt hour of my life.

I have the honour to be, with great reſpect,
Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient and faithful humble Servant,
A. GARDNER.

Portland Place, June 13, 1796.

TO

TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

Gentlemen,

BY the time when I ſhall next meet you at another Election, your Taxes, Burdens, and Oppreſſions, will be ſtill heavier; and your deſire of relief more ardent: for the Miniſters of this Country are purſuing a career in which they cannot ſtop. They muſt go on, or go off. Corruption, like a dropſy, will ſwell till it burſts. And the means of force and coercion which they have lately prepared for us—their Treaſon and Sedition Bills, their Volunteers, their Fencibles, and their Barracks—only tend to haſten the criſis. Be moderate and firm. If we can do no better for our Country, let our carcaſſes at leaſt manure the ſoil which has fed us. Our Anceſtors in the laſt Century, who fled from Slavery, loved Liberty well; but thoſe who ſtayed, and, by their ſufferings and exertions, vindicated and eſtabliſhed it, loved it better, and deſerved better of poſterity.

Again, Gentlemen, I requeſt you to be moderate and firm; and we ſhall ſoon obtain, what ought to be the morning and evening determination of every Engliſhman, *Security for the future*—and *Juſtice for the paſt*.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

Wimbledon, June 14, 1796.

FINIS.

NEW PUBLICATIONS,

Printed for J. S. JORDAN, No. 166, Fleet Street.

STATE PAPERS AND STATE OF EUROPE,

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PRESENT WAR.

Next Month will be publiſhed,

The NINTH VOLUME, for the YEAR M.DCC.XCV.

[*Containing a full and accurate Account of the Affairs of the* UNITED PROVINCES---*the Operations, Motions, Retreat, &c. &c. of the Britiſh Army on the Continent---Proceedings of the* DIET *of* RATISBON, *with a Number of intereſting Particulars---authentic* STATE PAPERS *of Spain, Tuſcany, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, the American Republic, Africa, &c. &c. with the* LONDON GAZETTES, *and the* DEBATES *of the* FRENCH CONVENTION *and* ASSEMBLY:] Of

THE POLITICAL STATE OF EUROPE; containing all the STATE PAPERS iſſued by the different Courts, or any of their Miniſters; particularly thoſe of England, Vienna, the Empire; with the whole Proceedings of the late Diet of Pruſſia, Ruſſia, Sweden, Denmark, the States of Holland, Spain, Sardinia, &c. &c. a great part of which are not to be found in any other Engliſh publication whatever.

It has been the peculiar character of this Work, from its commencement in 1791 to the preſent time, that there has been regularly and conſtantly printed all the Declarations, Manifeſtoes, Memorials, Edicts, Treaties, Conventions, and State Papers of every kind, iſſued by the belligerent and neutral Powers. All the authentic accounts of the Operations of the War from the London, and other Gazettes of the Allies, and from the Proceedings of the National Convention of France.

The POLITICAL STATE OF EUROPE is therefore the moſt complete and moſt faithful Hiſtory of the preſent Times, and, it may be added, the moſt impartial; becauſe every reader is hereby perfectly enabled to judge for himſelf, from the circumſtance of having the accounts of both ſides conſtantly laid before him.

A few complete Sets of this Work may be had in 8 volumes, Price Three Guineas half bound and lettered; or for the Years 1793 and 1794 ſeparate, Price One Guinea each.

*** Gentlemen, Merchants, and others, who are in the habit of ſending new books to their friends and correſpondents in the country, or abroad, will find this Work contain a more full and accurate ſtatement of the affairs of Europe, at this intereſting moment, than any other publication whatever. It is the only Work now printing that is entirely devoted to the plan of a Repoſitory of Public Events.

The HISTORY of the REIGN of LOUIS the XVIth, late KING of FRANCE. By THO. GEO. STREET. Volume I. Price Six Shillings in boards.

*** *The Second Volume will be publiſhed in a ſhort time.*

New Publications, Printed for J. S. Jordan.

The COMPLETE HISTORY OF FRANCE, from the moſt early Accounts to the Death of LOUIS XVI. The ancient part by William Beckford, Eſq. author of a Deſcriptive Account of Jamaica. The modern part by an Engliſh Gentleman, who has been ſome time reſident in Paris. Ornamented with a variety of Hiſtorical Engravings from Original Deſigns. In Four Volumes. Price One Pound Four Shillings in boards.

The HISTORY OF FRANCE is at this time peculiarly intereſting to every Engliſhman who is not previouſly acquainted with it. The riſe and progreſs of the Revolution, and preſent ſtate of that country are diſtinctly marked, and thereby afford a moſt ſtriking Example to other Nations, as well to the Governors as to the Governed. No hiſtory can at the preſent moment ſo nearly concern us; and therefore it has been a principal object with the Editors to accommodate the Public with this new and complete Edition on the moſt reaſonable Terms.

*** This Work being now completed, may be had in Numbers or Volumes, one or more at a time, to ſuit the convenience of the purchaſer.

BRISSOT's TRAVELS and COMMERCE of AMERICA,

COMPLETE IN TWO VOLUMES.

With a circumſtantial Account of his Life, and all his Writings. Alſo his Portrait finely engraved, and an Appendix of additional Papers.---The Second Volume of this Work, containing the above Articles, is now publiſhed, Price 7s. in boards, and may be had ſeparate, to accommodate the purchaſers of the Firſt Volume, which conſiſts of his Travels in America.

THE SECOND VOLUME CONSISTS OF

THE COMMERCE of AMERICA with EUROPE, particularly with France and Great Britain, comparatively ſtated and explained. Showing the importance of the American Revolution to the intereſts of France; and pointing out the actual Situation of the United States of North America, in regard to Trade, Manufactures, and Population. Tranſlated from the laſt French Edition, reviſed by BRISSOT himſelf, who called it the Second Volume of his View of America.

The Firſt Volume of BRISSOT'S TRAVELS IN AMERICA may be had ſeparate, Price 6s. in boards; alſo the Second Volume, Price 7s. in boards; or the 2 Volumes bound uniform, Price 16s.

SOME CAUTIONS offered to the CONSIDERATION of THOSE who are to chooſe MEMBERS to ſerve in the ENSUING PARLIAMENT. By the late MARQUIS of HALIFAX. A New Edition. Price One Shilling.

A LESSON for KINGS; or the ART of LOSING a KINGDOM. Exemplified in the Caſe and Conduct of Rehoboam, King of Iſrael. A SERMON. Price One Shilling.

A SERMON TO CROWNED HEADS. Second Edition. By a BRITISH LAYMAN. Price One Shilling.

NEW PUBLICATIONS,

Printed for J. S. JORDAN, No. 166, Fleet Street.

STATE TRIALS COMPLETE.

THE PROCEEDINGS AT LARGE on the IMPORTANT TRIAL of JOHN HORNE TOOKE, Esq. including the Speeches verbatim of all the Counsel; the Colloquies with the Court; the Evidence at full Length; all the Papers which were read; the Judge's Charge, and every other attendant circumstance. Taken in Short Hand, with attention, by J. H. BLANCHARD, and carefully collated with the original Notes and other Documents. In Two Volumes. Price 14s. in boards.

The PROCEEDINGS AT LARGE on the IMPORTANT TRIAL of THOMAS HARDY; containing the Opening of the Special Commission; the Lord President's Charge to the Grand Jury; Names and Places of Residence of the Witnesses and Jurors; Copy of the Indictment; Challenging of the Jury; Speeches verbatim of the Attorney and Solicitor Generals; Examination of Witnesses; Copies of the Papers read in Evidence; together with the Speeches at FULL LENGTH of Messr. ERSKINE and GIBBS; Charge to the Jury; Prisoner's Address, &c. &c. in Two very large Volumes. Price 16s. in boards. Accurately taken in Short Hand by MANOAH SIBLY, Short Hand Writer to the City of London.

*** *The Public will please to observe, that these are the cheapest complete Editions of these important Trials that have been published.*

The GENUINE SPEECHES at FULL LENGTH of the Hon. THOMAS ERSKINE and VICARY GIBBS, Esq. in DEFENCE of T. HARDY and J. H. TOOKE; tried by Special Commission, on a Charge of High Treason. Price 5s. in boards.

The TRIAL of GEORGE ROSE, Esq. Secretary to the Treasury, &c. for employing Mr. SMITH, a Publican in Westminster, and not paying him; on which he was cast in the Court of King's Bench, by a Special Jury, in the Sum of One Hundred and Ten Pounds Five Shillings! Taken in Short Hand by a BARRISTER. Third Edition. Price 1s. 6d.

A LETTER to WILLIAM GARROW, Esq. on the Subject of his ILLIBERAL BEHAVIOUR to the Author, on the Trial of a Cause (FORD against PEDDER and Others,) at the late Kingston Assizes. With an Apology for its Publication to Sir Beaumont Hotham, Knt. one of the Barons of his Majesty's Exchequer. By MATTHEW CONCANEN, Jun. Price Sixpence.

A CALM ENQUIRY into the OFFICE and DUTIES of JURYMEN, in Cases of HIGH TREASON: With seasonable Remarks, earnestly recommended to the Attention of every honest and impartial Juryman, in the present Crisis. Price One Shilling.

ANSWER TO BURKE.

A VINDICATION of the DUKE of BEDFORD's Attack upon Mr. BURKE's PENSION; in Reply to a LETTER from the Right Hon. EDMUND BURKE to a Noble Lord. By THO. GEO. STREET, Author of the HISTORY of the REIGN of LOUIS XVI. Second Edition. Price Two Shillings.

WAR NO POLICY; or the Diſtreſſes of France a Warning to Great Britain: being a Letter to a Friend, with Remarks on the preſent important Criſis. Price One Shilling.

THE CABINET. A New PERIODICAL WORK. By a Society of Gentlemen. In Three Volumes. Price 14s. 6d. in boards. Conſiſting of Original Pieces in Proſe and Verſe, upon all Topics connected with the Science of civil Polity, Law, Conſtitution, &c. &c.

" ------- *The Country claims our active aid*;
" THAT *let us roam*; *and where we find a ſpark*
" *Of public virtue, blow it into flame.*" THOMSON.

*** Gentlemen are deſired to complete their Sets as ſoon as poſſible, ſeveral Numbers being nearly out of print.

CAPTAIN COOK's Third and Laſt VOYAGE to the PACIFIC OCEAN, in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780. Faithfully abridged from the Quarto Edition, publiſhed by ORDER OF HIS MAJESTY. Illuſtrated with Copper-Plates. A New Edition. Price 4s. bound.

Dr. TROTTER's MEDICAL and CHEMICAL ESSAYS; containing Additional Obſervations on Scurvy, with Caſes and Miſcellaneous Facts, in Reply to Dr. Beddoes, and others, who have ſupported the Pneumato-Chemical Pathology of the author in his former work; communications from New South Wales, on Scurvy, and other intereſting Subjects; the Caſe of a Blue Boy belonging to his Majeſty's ſhip London, who died at Haſlar Hoſpital, with the Appearances on Diſſection; Thoughts on the Decompoſition of Water, and a method of preſerving it pure and ſweet in long Voyages. By THOMAS TROTTER, Phyſician to his Majeſty's Fleet under the command of Admiral Richard Earl Howe. Second Edition. Price 3s. 6d. in boards.

A POCKET VOCABULARY, in SIX LANGUAGES; viz. Engliſh, German, Dutch, French, Italian, Spaniſh; containing ſuch Words, Terms, and Queſtions, as are moſt generally in Uſe, particularly in Military Service. To which are added, an accurate Table of the Coins of European Nations and States. The whole arranged by Capt. JAMES WILSON, of the Marines, and tranſlated by ſeveral eminent Teachers of Languages. Dedicated to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York. Price Three Shillings bound.